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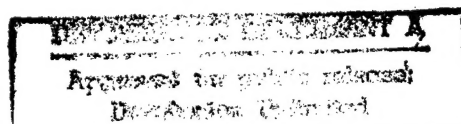
JPRS 81911

4 October 1982

# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1982



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**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## FROM THE NANCHANG UPRISING TO GOING UP THE JINGGANG MOUNTAINS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 2-5

[Article by Zhu De, written in June 1962]

[Text]

### I

In talking about the Nanchang uprising, it is first necessary to look back at the history of the first revolutionary civil war.

In 1923 the third party congress decided that our party would cooperate with the Kuomintang [KMT]. In 1924, Dr Sun Yat-sen's KMT, aided by our party, the Communist International and the CPSU, formulated a revolutionary policy to unite with Russia and the communists and to support the revolution of peasants and workers and reorganized and formed an alliance composed of various democratic classes. Thus, the first KMT-CCP cooperation was shaping up, and the great revolution of China was set off. At that time, the KMT's meager resources were nearly exhausted and had to be rebuilt. Therefore, the KMT, out of necessity, cooperated with us in order to obtain our assistance.

During the great revolution in China, the Central Committee of our party organized a Military Commission, and the Soviet Union sent military advisers to China. The KMT, with the support of our party, founded the Huangpu Military Academy, established the National Revolutionary Army and reorganized the old army. When the northern expedition was launched, the KMT already had six armies.<sup>1</sup> A great number of Communist Party members were sent to do political work at the military academy and in the armed forces. In some armies, units from the company level up to the army level all had Communist Party members as party representatives. This fact shows that ever since that time, our party began to pay attention to military work, to do revolutionary political work in the armed forces, to unite the armed forces with the people and to integrate the revolutionary armed struggle with the mass struggle. It was precisely because of this fact that the northern expedition swiftly developed with a violent force and won a tremendous victory. The victory was not just something fortuitous. It was the result of our party using Marxism-Leninism as a guide and the armed forces using the Soviet Red Army of that time as their example. At that time, although our party had neither experience in, nor paid

sufficient attention to, controlling the armed forces, it did come into contact with the problem and began to do something about it. Therefore, in studying the party's military history, it is necessary to begin with these basic historical facts.

## II

Chiang Kai-shek, taking advantage of the mistakes committed by our party's rightist opportunist leaders and after mapping out a series of conspiracies, at long last betrayed the revolution in April 1927 and carried out massacres of the people. Many workers, peasants and Communist Party members were slaughtered. Wang Jingwei openly turned anticommunist in July and also carried out massacres of the people. Thus, the KMT-CCP cooperation was completely broken. A large number of Communist Party members were purged from the northern expedition army. They had nowhere to turn. To salvage the revolution and cope with the pressing situation, we realized that an uprising was the only solution, and the party decided to launch an uprising in Nanchang on 1 August. At that time, there was very little time for making and implementing the decision. As we look back on it now, the timing for the uprising was a little too late.

After the Nanchang uprising, the forces involved in the uprising all went south to seek foreign aid in Guangdong's Shantou. But they were defeated in Guangdong's Chaozhou-Shantou area. An important lesson learned from this defeat was that these forces did not unite with Jiangxi's peasant movement but went to Guangdong instead. If these forces had taken advantage of the contradictions existing among the warlords themselves and had launched peasant movements in various localities in Jiangxi, solved the land problem, built revolutionary bases and reorganized their forces, it would have been quite possible for them to succeed.

After the forces involved in the uprising entered Guangdong, they divided into two parts. The main force advanced to the Shantou-Jieyang area while the other part commanded by me was stationed in Sanheba. Upon hearing that our main force was attacked by the enemy in Chaozhou and Shantou, we immediately marched south to their aid from Sanheba. Only after we arrived at Raoping and met a part of the main force of about 200 men who were retreating from the Chaozhou-Shantou area did we learn that our main force had been routed and scattered. Our force, now totaling a little over 2,000 men including the 200 from the main force that joined us, turned back north and, after engaging an enemy division in the ancient city of Wuping, arrived at Tianxinyu in Jiangxi's Anyuan County. By that time, the morale of our men had sunk further. Our badly battered force, which consisted of three parts--one part commanded by Zhou Shi, one part from the main force that pulled out from the Chaozhou-Shantou area and one part commanded by me--was in total disarray. Some had deserted while others asked to leave. Faced with such a situation, we conducted an initial reorganization at Tianxinyu, held a soldiers' meeting, explained the situation and mission of the revolution and pointed out that the final victory would surely be ours, so as to boost morale and steady our confidence. After the initial reorganization, we continued our westward march,

and passing through Xinfeng, we arrived at Dayu at the end of October and reorganized our forces. First, we reorganized the party and CYL organizations, set up party branches and organized all our men into a column [zong dui 4912 7130] consisting of two subcolumns [dui 7130]. Then we advanced to Shangbao in Chongyi County.

The reorganization and training of the contingent of men that survived the Nanchang uprising did not materialize until it arrived at Shangbao. After 3 months of marching and fighting since the Nanchang uprising, we did not find a place to settle down until we arrived in Shangbao. It gave us some time for reorganization and training. First, we strengthened discipline, stipulating that all funds contributed and materials captured must be turned over to the public. Next, we conducted military training. A major training course was conducted every 2 days and regular training was conducted every day. To meet objective requirements, new tactics were proposed. They mainly dealt with how to turn major battles into minor ones by adopting guerrilla warfare and how to change the single-line battle array into the wedge-shaped battle array. Of course, all this was only in the embryonic stage. It was Chairman Mao who later systematically and completely solved guerrilla warfare and even the entire strategic problem.

Thanks to the reorganization and training, our forces were united, their discipline strengthened and their combat effectiveness enhanced. Meanwhile, a battalion, commanded by Wu Zhonghao, of the worker-peasant army directly led by Chairman Mao, joined us in our reorganization and training.

### III

Prior to the Nanchang uprising, Fan Shisheng's 16th Army stationed in southern Hunan had maintained a united front relationship with our party, and our party had also maintained organizations in the 16th Army. Fan Shisheng had also intended to join our incursion into Guangdong. After the Nanchang uprising and the incursion of our forces into Guangdong, Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote us a letter of introduction which would be presented to Fan Shisheng's troops if and when we could make contact with them. Fan Shisheng was an old acquaintance of mine. We were schoolmates in the Yunnan army training school and took part in the 1911 revolution together. After we arrived at Shangbao, Fan Shisheng sent Wei Bocui, a Communist Party member working among his troops, to contact us in the hope of cooperating with us. After the matter was discussed in our party organization, we agreed to cooperate with him and signed an agreement. After that, our troops moved to Rucheng in southern Hunan and cooperated with Fan Shisheng's troops. We disguised ourselves under a falsified regimental designation of his troops.

Our cooperation with Fan Shisheng was conditional. The terms were agreed upon during the talks. We were communist troops, thus at any time our party wanted us to leave, we had to leave. We had complete control over all supplies Fan Shisheng provided us. We held the sole power to decide the internal organization and training of our troops, and Fan Shisheng would never interfere. In fact, all these conditions were honored. For

instance, when we entered Guangdong's Renhua, we still cracked down on local tyrants and killed several landlords and local tyrants. Another example, in preparation for the southern Hunan insurrection, we held a meeting in Rucheng of party secretaries of county party committees under the jurisdiction of Hengyang to discuss and plan for the insurrection. Still another example, when Huang Shaoxiong was about to attack Fan's troops, Fan wanted us to be his rear guard; we replenished our supplies with the great amount of materials left behind by Fan's troops. All this showed that we could decide our own actions without restrictions set by anyone else.

Our cooperation with Fan Shisheng was of great benefit to us. First, we could lie low for awhile (I used an assumed name Wang Kai), catch our breath for reorganization and bide our time for another chance. Second, we could replenish our supplies. During our cooperation, he gave us 2 months' pay and replenished our bedding, clothing and ammunition. When we left, he gave us several tens of thousands of dollars in cash for our travel expenses. In December 1927, we received our party's directive to support the Guangzhou uprising. While still on our way to Guangzhou, we heard that the uprising had failed, and we stayed in Shaoguan. Not long afterwards, we left Fan's troops and entered southern Hunan to organize the southern Hunan insurrection. On the eve of our departure, Fan Shisheng wrote us a letter to express his sincerity. I can still recall the gist of that letter: 1) "Who can so unite it? He who has no pleasure in killing can so unite it." 2) To prevent losses to your troops, it was better for you to take the main route instead of trails. 3) Final victory belongs to you, but at present I cannot help you, although I would very much like to do so.

#### IV

After leaving Fan's troops, we traveled north from Shaoguan, with a plan to find a base area in southern Hunan. At that time, Gong Chu<sup>3</sup> joined our unit. He led the way and took us to Yangjiazhaizi in Yizhang County where Chairman Yang Zida of the Yizhang County peasant association lived. He played an important role in letting us stay at Yangjiazhaizi.

After reaching Yangjiazhaizi, we decided to organize an insurrection in Yizhang County. In the county, there was a person by the name of Hu Shaohai who formerly served as battalion commander under Cheng Qian's command and who was known to the local evil gentry. One day in mid-January 1928, we informed Hu Shaohai that we were going to have our troops masquerade as a unit of the National Revolutionary Army and move to the seat of the Yizhang County government. When members of the local evil gentry heard of Hu Shaohai leading troops back, they came out of the city to greet us, welcomed our troops into the city and invited us to dinner. At the dinner, we arrested all the members of the evil gentry and government officials and launched the Yizhang insurrection. Following the insurrection, we promptly set up the Yizhang County soviet government and founded the 1st Division of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army, thus firing the first shot in the southern Hunan insurrection.

After the Yizhang insurrection, Xu Kexiang, an executioner in the Mari incident, came with his troops from Pingshi to attack us. Our comrades and the broad masses hated Xu Kexiang to the marrow of their bones. After hearing of fighting against Xu Kexiang, their morale was unprecedentedly high and they vied with one another in participating in the fight. Xu Kexiang deployed his six regiments of troops in a long line, which made it easy for us to wipe out his regiments one by one. Thus, once we engaged his troops, we quickly routed an advance regiment of his troops and then pursued and attacked the rest of his troops. In the pursuit, we crushed all of his six regiments one by one. When we pursued Xu Kexiang and his troops to Pingshi, his troops were thrown into great confusion and were utterly routed. Pingshi was a gorge where there were no crossroads. The enemy troops could flee only along the gorge. So we kept pursuing them to the bank of Lechang River where we had to stop. This battle was fought excellently. We captured many enemy troops, some of whom joined our unit. At Pingshi in particular, we captured all Xu Kexiang's warehouses and replenished and armed ourselves with materials and weapons in the warehouses. We seized not only machineguns but mortars and artillery pieces as well. It can be said that Xu Kexiang helped us to build up.

The good news of wiping out Xu Kexiang's troops soon got around in southern Hunan. Local party organizations in southern Hunan's various counties contacted us and asked us to build local armed forces. We supported them in doing so. We first helped Yizhang County organize a local regiment. After taking Chenzhou, we then helped Chenzhou organize a local regiment. Later, we successively captured the county seats of Leiyang, Zixing, Yongxing, Guidong and Rucheng and also launched insurrections in Chaling, Anren and Lingxian. The masses in 11 counties went into action and organized their local armed forces. Under the leadership of local party organizations, these local armed forces overthrew local tyrants and evil gentry as well as the local reactionary governments and set up soviet governments. This is what the southern Hunan insurrection in early 1928 was about (called the year-end insurrection at that time).

The southern Hunan insurrection took place at a time when a war had broken out between warlords Bai Chongxi and Tang Shengzhi. So the situation was favorable for us. If the policy and line had been correct, it would have been possible for us to continue to exploit the victory and to consolidate our position in some localities under the given conditions. However, the erroneous left-putschist line alienated the masses from us, thus isolating us. As a result, the revolutionary forces had to withdraw from southern Hunan shortly after the insurrection.

## V

The troops we saved from the Nanchang uprising and the local armed forces in southern Hunan successfully joined forces with the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army under Chairman Mao's direct leadership at Longshi, Ninggang County, on 28 April 1928. On 4 May, we held a grand joining-forces meeting at Lonshi and announced the founding of the 4th Corps of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army (the corps was redesignated



as the 4th Red Army later). The main force of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army had since grown in strength and become stronger and stronger with each passing day. It scored many important victories in the struggle to consolidate and develop the base area in Jinggangshan.

After we joined forces, we won the first battle in early May 1928 when a unit of the 4th Red Army wiped out a battalion of the enemy's 27th Division under Yang Ruxuan's command near Huangao. Following that, this unit put an enemy regiment to rout along the Wudu River. Our troops pursued and attacked enemy troops in the wake of victory and captured Yongxin city for the first time. During this battle, our troops wiped out and routed three enemy regiments.

In late May 1928, the enemy troops under Yang Ruxuan's command launched an attack on us from Yongxin. Our 28th Regiment went to the aid of a battalion which was sent to Chaling, Hunan, for newsprint and had not yet returned to Jinggangshan at that time. After learning of the enemy attack, the regiment made a rapid march back to Caoshiao, 15 li from Yongxin city, and wiped out a battalion of the enemy's 79th Regiment by attacking it from the rear. Hu Zidang, commander of the enemy regiment, was killed on the spot. The enemy troops fled helter-skelter, and we pursued them to Yongxin city. It was said that Yang Ruxuan was listening to a phonograph record when our troops stormed into the city and killed his foreign-bred dog. He was wounded by a stray bullet while climbing over the city wall to flee. Thus, we took Yongxin city for the second time. We seized a lot of booty, including more than 50,000 silver dollars. The following morning we withdrew from Yongxin city on our own initiative.

Nearly 10 regiments of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Hunan and Jiangxi launched an attack on Jinggangshan in June 1928. The enemy used the three regiments under Yang Ruxuan's command as the main attack force to attack our positions at Laoqixiling. Two regiments under Yang Chisheng's command launched a secondary attack on our positions at Xinqixiling. The 29th Regiment and a battalion of the 31st Regiment were assigned to defend Xinqixiling and the 28th Regiment was given the task of defending Laoqixiling. The fighting started before dawn on 22 June 1928 (the Dragon Boat Festival fell on that day) and lasted until dark. At noon, our 28th Regiment defending Laoqixiling first put to rout the main attack force of three enemy regiments which fled in disorder toward Yongxin city. At this time, our 29th Regiment and a battalion of the 31st Regiment defending Xinqixiling also launched a counterattack and forced the enemy troops to retreat in disorder. These enemy troops attempted to flee through Longyuankou, but our 28th Regiment outflanked them there, thus cutting off their retreat and annihilating most of them. Our troops pursued the enemy troops to Yongxin and took the city for the third time. Thus, we smashed the siege by the enemy. These are the well-known great victories won at Qixiling and Longyuankou.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The National Revolutionary Army consisted of six corps in early 1926 and expanded to eight corps when it set out from Guangdong on the northern expedition in July 1926.
2. See "The Works of Mencius, King Hui of Liang, Part 1." The word "unite" here means the unification of the country.
3. Gong Chu (1901 to ?) came from Lechang, Guangdong and was admitted to the CCP in 1925. He deserted from the revolutionary ranks in May 1935 and later betrayed the party and surrendered to the enemy.

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BUILD A STRONG MODERN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 6-10

[Article by Yang Shangkun]

[Text] Since the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in 1927, it has experienced a career of 55 years of glorious fighting.

Party leaders, including great Marxist and proletarian strategist Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De rendered indelible services to the founding and development of the PLA. As the 55th anniversary of the founding of our army draws near, all commanders and fighters of the army, while recalling the past eventful years, cherish with boundless feelings the memory of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who bent their backs for the cause of liberation of the people of all nationalities throughout the country until their dying day and of innumerable revolutionary martyrs.

Just as the resolution unanimously approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out, the Chinese revolution was victorious mainly because we relied on a people's army led by the CPC; an army of a completely new type and enjoying flesh-and-blood ties with the people, to defeat a formidable enemy through protracted people's war. History has proved that without such an army, the people would have nothing and it would have been impossible to achieve the liberation of our people and the independence of our country.

Today, the people of the whole country are pleased to see that the PLA--a people's army--has undergone new development and improvement in the new historical conditions, developing from a purely land force into a composite force that includes air and naval forces and other technical branches. Apart from being equipped with excellent conventional weapons produced by China itself, we also possess sophisticated strategic weapons such as atomic and hydrogen bombs and LRBM's for self-defense. It can be predicted that on the basis of the further development of the national economy, the degree of modernization of the PLA is sure to be further enhanced.

It is gratifying to note that in recent years, especially since Chairman Deng Xiaoping presided over the work of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, new major progress has been made in PLA building and in various aspects, such as military, political and rear service work. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission, the whole army has conscientiously studied and implemented the various principles and policies of the party. The army has paid special attention to implementing the guidelines of the 3d and 6th Plenary Sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee, guiding the troops to more conscientiously uphold the four basic principles and unifying the ideas on the basis of the basic conclusion of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." While constantly eliminating the influence remaining from the "leftist" guiding ideology, the whole army has resolutely repudiated and overcome bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous ideological tendencies so that the troops' political consciousness and understanding of policy have been markedly raised. The various PLA units have extensively launched an activity of building socialist spiritual civilization centering on having ideals, paying attention to morality and observing discipline. A large number of new people of the Lei Feng type have emerged. Quite a few PLA units have penetratingly conducted patriotic education characterized by the principle that state interests are above everything. This has played a marked role in heightening the sense of national self-respect and pride and in understanding the superiority of China's socialist system. In the struggles to resist natural disasters in some areas of the country, the numerous cadres and fighters have, with their own practical actions, fulfilled the aim of army building--wholehearted service to the people--and forged closer links between the army and government and between the army and people. The various activities, such as building the army on a regular basis and conducting military and political training, have improved sense of discipline and organization and have effectively raised combat effectiveness. The military exercises successfully held in north China and in a few other areas have marked our army's step forward in improving the capability of concerted operations among various branches of the armed forces and in employing the means of modern warfare. Vigorously supported by the broad masses of the people, our army has triumphantly fulfilled the tasks of defending our coastline and frontiers, the tranquility of our motherland and the four modernizations drive. The victories in battles of self-defense at the Fakashan and Koulinsan Mountains have added new glories to the 1 August army flag. All this has proved that the PLA created and led by the CPC and armed with Mao Zedong Thought is a completely trustworthy powerful people's armed force with fine training and strong combat effectiveness. The cadres and fighters of the army are most obedient to the party and people and go wherever the party directs them. The commanders and fighters fight where there is greatest hardship and danger. This PRC armed force, that belongs to and is loyal to the people, is like a steel great wall reliably defending our people's peaceful labor and socialist modernization.

Recalling the 55 years of the army's history, one could say it is a history of progressing from small to big, from weak to strong, and from "millet

plus rifles" to the building of a modern revolutionary army. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, we attach importance to the decisive role of the human factor in war, but we never overlook the important role of weapons. We lay stress on defeating with inferior equipment an enemy equipped with superior weapons and we constantly strive, where objective conditions permit, to improve the army's capability of fighting modern warfare and push forward army building. As far back as during the infant period of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We oppose efforts to halt the Red Army at the old stage and strive to develop the Red Army to a new stage." In the early period of the war of resistance against Japan, when there was an extremely great disparity in strength between the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in "On Protracted War": "The reform of our military system requires its modernization and improved technical equipment, without which we cannot drive the enemy back across the Yalu River." Later, on many occasions, he again said: The Chinese army should also gradually be provided with modern technology, equipment and specifically military attainments. The great foresight of the party leader and the unflagging revolutionary drive of the numerous cadres and fighters ensured that, even under extremely difficult conditions, our army always made every effort to improve the combat capability of the troops. In those years, when the poorly equipped worker and peasant Red Army, hemmed in by massive enemy troops, succeeded in seizing from the enemy the first radio transceiver, they took good care of it and, after assiduously learning how to operate it in a very short time, employed it in directing operations on the battlefield. When many fighters were still fighting with indigenous rifles, broadswords and spears, our army simply and thriftily set up an artillery school with the few guns we seized from the enemy. As far back as in the liberation war period, our army already had its own aviation school and armored troops. These scenes of assiduously doing pioneering work remain fresh in our memory as if they were before us now. Our army has always refused to be self-satisfied and conservative or to halt its efforts at the initial stages but instead, where the objective conditions permit, fully bring into play the subjective initiative in an effort to guide the army building to a higher stage. It is still necessary for us to constantly promote this extremely invaluable revolutionary drive in the new historical period.

Lenin said: "When an army is not prepared to master all weapons and all forms and methods of struggle the enemy has possessed or may possess, this act is considered stupid by everybody else." Modern military science and technology are changing with each passing day. Since the fruits of the world's latest science and technology are extensively applied in war, a whole series of changes has taken place in the forms of war, strategy, tactics and military organization. Many unprecedented new situations and special features have appeared in modern warfare. Hence, in an international situation in which the danger of war still exists, we must greatly step up the building of a modern national defense and raise the army's modern combat capability to a new level. When reviewing the troops taking part in military exercises somewhere in north China, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, more explicitly pointed out: It is necessary to build our army into a strong,

modern and regular revolutionary army. With full confidence, the comrades of the whole army are unremittingly fighting for the realization of this great goal along with the people throughout the country.

At present, under the guidance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the work of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement is being continuously carried out on the economic front and marked achievements have been scored. Following the Central Committee's unified guiding principle on carrying out system reforms, the PLA is right now working hard to readjust, reorganize and restructure itself and advance toward the great goal of revolutionization, modernization and regularization.

In the course of readjusting and restructuring the army, it is imperative to build the troops into a revolutionized and modern crack force in accordance with the requirements of modern warfare. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "That the troops are valued for their quality, not their number, is still a principle of army building in the future." During the arduous years of the anti-Japanese war, our party rigorously practiced the policy of better troops and simpler administration, reduced the number of non-combat personnel and lightened the burden of the people. This resulted in speeding up the victorious course of war. In the early period of the founding of the PRC, we carried out the policy decision of reducing the number of armymen and improving the quality of the army so that it was possible for our army to establish various branches and thus strengthened the combat effectiveness of our army. Although the specific conditions were slightly different in various historical periods, the principle that troops are valued for their quality and not their number still holds good. Now people have come to realize that the trial of strength in a war manifests not only in the number of soldiers but, more importantly, in modern weapons and equipment and in people's capability to operate modern equipment. With the swift development of modern science and technology, there is indeed a tremendous increase in the power of weapons. Following improvement in the level of modern weapons, equipment and the command system, it is entirely possible to appropriately reduce the number of soldiers. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: A reduction and not an increase in manpower is a sign of modernization. It can thus be seen that practicing the policy of better troops is not a negative or stagnant policy but a positive and advanced one. The policy of better troops is a correct and scientific policy which conforms to the specific features of modern warfare and the law of development of modern military affairs.

By a crack force, from the major aspects, we mainly mean the following three demands: 1) There must be people with high political awareness, advanced military thinking and relatively high scientific and cultural accomplishment, and all readjustment and restructuring measures must be beneficial for discovering, selecting and promoting talented people and for making the cadre force revolutionized, younger and more knowledgeable and specialized. 2) There must be excellent modern weapons and equipment. 3) There must be organic integration of men and arms, which means that there must be strict training and scientific formation. After a period of

arduous efforts by the comrades of the whole army, our army will be a crack force with keen wits and capable administrative structure, agile command, excellent equipment, fine training, quick reactions, high efficiency, and very powerful combat effectiveness, and be a hand-picked force that cannot be toppled or defeated. It will be a sharp sword defending the socialist motherland.

Human factors still play a primary role in modern warfare. However, it is necessary to understand human factors in an all-round way. They include not only human courage, consciousness and the spirit of sacrifice but also human wisdom, and talent as well as mastery and application of science, culture and technology. All modern equipment, even such high-tech equipment as electronic calculators, reconnaissance satellites and spaceships, should also be operated by man. No precision and advanced weapons can hit the targets with unfailing accuracy. Of these, the scientific and technological levels of the operators are very important factors. The political consciousness of the PLA is undoubtedly first-rate in the world. In the future, it is still necessary to regard political work as the lifeline of our army, strive to build socialist spiritual civilization and conduct patriotic education centering on loving the party, the socialist motherland and the people's army in order to raise the political quality of our army to a new level. It should be noted, however, that the scientific, cultural and technological level of our cadres still fails to keep abreast of the requirements of modern warfare. If we fail to speedily change this state of affairs, we shall not be able to skillfully master and proficiently operate more up-to-date equipment, let alone bring its efficiency into full play. Therefore, an urgent question confronting us is to vigorously step up the work of making our cadres master intellectual knowledge. The status and role of science, culture and technology in army building is becoming more and more important and outstanding. In particular, the intensive application of science in modern weapons and the ever-changing progress of modern science such as electronics, laser, infrared rays and spaceflight have made it necessary for us to study new knowledge and new technology and to arm ourselves with modern scientific knowledge. There is the importance of knowledge on the one hand and the deficiency of knowledge on the other. This is an acute contradiction. Quite a few comrades understand the importance and urgency of solving this contradiction. At the beginning of this century, Lenin wrote a commentary entitled "The Fall of Port Arthur." This famous article vividly described and penetratingly elaborated the defeat suffered by the czarist Russian army in its war against the Japanese army. Lenin pointed out that although czarist Russia had squandered hundreds of millions of rubles on the purchase and building of splendid warships, in view of the fact that both the officers and soldiers proved "uneducated" and "backward" and "that there were no people with the necessary technical knowledge to utilize the latest achievements of military engineering," the military might of czarist Russia "proved to be a sham" and those expenditures "proved to be antiquated and utterly useless." All this shows how important scientific and cultural knowledge is to the modernization of the army. It is hoped that our cadres, particularly the leading cadres, will attach great importance to this increasingly urgent problem. From now on they should regard it as a matter of great

strategic importance, concentrate their efforts on it and make sure that the scientific and cultural appearance of our army will change considerably in the coming years.

The CPC Central Committee recently decided that in the coming 5 years or so, all cadres working in the central party and government institutions should at least reach senior middle school level culturally and middle vocational school level professionally and that there should be a considerable number of people who have university level. From now on, cadres who do not come up to the stipulated level cannot be transferred to the central party and government institutions; the existing cadres who do not come up to the stipulated level should manage to reach this level within a stated time through study and rotational training. This guideline is likewise applicable to our army. Moreover, as far as the needs for army building are concerned, we should act more quickly and do better.

Both men and arms must excel in building a crack force. In the context of requirements for opposing a future war of aggression, we still lag behind in weapons and equipment. We must at all times carry forward the army's fine combat traditions and establish strong confidence and resolve in defeating with inferior weapons an enemy armed with superior weapons. Under the conditions of national economic capabilities, we must also step up national defense scientific research work, strive to improve our arms and equipment and reduce our discrepancies in this respect to the minimum. In his article "On the Ten Major Relationships" Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We are stronger than before and will be stronger still in the future. We will not only have more planes and artillery but atom bombs too. If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb." What Comrade Mao Zedong predicted has initially come true. We will certainly be able to equip our units with newer weapons as our national economy and military science and technology develop. With further improvement in the level of modernization, the long-tested PLA will be like a tiger that has grown wings and will be in a better position to defeat all aggressors who dare to launch a war against us. Workers, peasants and the comrades in scientific, technological, educational and various other circles in our country will exert themselves and, in their own respective posts, make more contributions to the modernization of national defense and the people's own army.

Arms, including all modern arms, are only potential fighting force, they can only become actual fighting force when closely integrated with men. Apart from strict training, this also requires scientific formation. It takes a lot of learning to more scientifically and rationally form the army according to the requirements of modern warfare. At present, a great many countries attach great importance to the study of military systems. Following new developments in modern warfare, military formation has also appropriately been reformed. For example, since World War II, some countries have abolished cavalry units and established air defense forces and strategic rocket forces; some countries have changed the "three three system" of the ground forces into the "five mass system [wu qun zhi 0063 5028 0455]: and some countries have increased electronics confrontation



showing that military formations should adapt to the objective situation in the way that people change their clothes according to changes in season. We must broaden our vision of breaking away from the fetters of the force of habit and daring to conduct reforms and be promoters of reforms.

The most important thing in the scientific formation of the armed forces is to strengthen their synthesis. Without the synthesis of the various branches of the armed forces, there would be no modernization and it would have been impossible to adapt ourselves to modern warfare. For a considerably long historical period, our army has chiefly relied on a single branch of the armed forces in fighting and a lot of comrades have been familiar with infantry. However, in order to direct a combined operation of various branches of the armed forces, it is still necessary to study assiduously and conscientiously. Reviewing the history of our army, we have already taken two steps, the first step consisting of concentrating only on infantry, and the second of independently developing various branches of the armed forces. We should now take a third step, which is to better strengthen the synthesis of the various branches. Since the founding of the PRC, we have established various branches of the armed forces, such as the air force, navy, artillery troops, engineer troops and armored troops, but they basically formed a system of their own and we have not been able to organically combine them together either in system, training or administration. If this state of affairs continues to exist, it will be difficult to adapt to the needs of modern warfare.

Comrade Ye Jianying has summed up the characteristics of modern warfare as: three-dimensional warfare, combined warfare, and general warfare. As we understand it, what is referred to as three-dimensional warfare is that as soon as a war breaks out, the enemy is sure to come simultaneously from the sky, land and sea and fight both at the front and in the rear. What is referred to as combined warfare is that war has developed from operations by a single branch of the armed forces or small-scale and limited-range concerted operations in the past to large-scale, extensive-range and complete combined warfare. What is meant by general warfare is that war is not only a trial of military strength but also a general trial of strength of various war factors, such as politics, economy, science, technology and diplomacy. These special features of modern warfare fully show that it is imperative to strengthen the synthesis of the army, practice combined operations by various branches of the armed forces and bring into full play their overall might; it is imperative for armymen and people throughout the country to make concerted efforts and launch a people's war under the modern conditions in order to defeat the enemy. We must therefore greatly step up composite training. Every commander, especially the commanders of composite forces must be familiar with the capabilities of all types of weapons and learn how to employ the various technical branches of the armed forces in coordination. At the same time they must also understand, as much as possible, other branches of knowledge related to war. We must further change the idea of having just one branch of the armed forces and establish the concept of composite warfare. This is a profound change. Lenin said: "In our practical life there are both the feature of extraordinary courage and the mentality of fearing extremely small changes."

We should not be afraid of, but should be bold in, making reforms. We should actively support all reforms that are conducive to the strengthening of synthesis.

In making readjustment and reforms, it is necessary to take into consideration not only peacetime but also wartime and do a good job of linking peacetime with wartime. In doing everything, such as what is to be initiated, what is to be reformed, what is to be readjusted and how should we do our work in order of importance and urgency, it is necessary to have war preparedness in mind for this helps us to be always alert and ready to strike at the enemy who dares to invade us. Political and ideological education must be geared in such a way that it ensures the fulfillment of readjustment as well as educates the troops to firmly foster the idea of war preparedness. We should also further step up work on the militia and do a good job of the reserve service and mobilization systems. If the enemy dares to invade us, we shall engulf it in the boundless ocean of the people with people's war under the modern conditions.

Fewer troops and simpler administration are always interrelated and go hand in hand. In order to have crack troops it is imperative to have simpler administration. It is imperative to improve work style in order to achieve the goal of improving work efficiency and command capability. It is necessary to implement the principle of integrating centralized and unified leadership with division of responsibility, put responsibility systems on a sound basis, reduce the number of command levels, and further define the scope of responsibilities of leading organs at all levels. Leading organs at the higher levels should chiefly understand developments and have a good grasp of policies. Principal attention should be paid to grasping problems related to policies, implementing the policies and principles laid down by the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission, conducting investigation and study, summing up experiences and supervising and speeding up fulfillment of assigned work. We should not take on the detailed routine work that should be handled by the institutions at the lower levels for this will not only make it difficult for us to do our work well but will also be unfavorable to bringing into play the initiative of the lower levels. It is also unfavorable to overcoming bureaucratism, routinism and the methods of working in a handicraft manner and to improving work efficiency. We advocate that leading cadres at various levels should, within the scope of their duties, be bold in taking responsibility and work boldly. If a person is responsible for the work, he should be responsible for it to the end. We should change the past phenomena, such as unclear definition of duties incumbent to each person or post, inexplicit division of labor, multiple command levels, mutual shift of responsibility, the travel of documents from one department to another, long delays in making decisions and passing on difficulties to the leadership. We should consult others on our own initiative on all matters that should be consulted and we should independently, responsibly and on our own initiative solve well the problems that we can solve.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Having a clear understanding of China's national condition is a fundamental basis for having a clear understanding



of all revolutionary problems." Just as all things in the world have both their general and specific characteristics, army building in various countries of the world has its general characteristic, but it also has its own special characteristics. It is necessary for the economic construction to suit our national conditions, and it is also necessary for army building to suit our national conditions. China has the biggest population in the world. It has a vast territory, long coastline and highly different natural conditions. It is necessary for us to conscientiously study modern military theory and foreign military experience. At the same time, it is all the more necessary for us to conscientiously study our national conditions, learn and study the application and development of Mao Zedong's military thinking in modern conditions, study the integration of people's war with modern conditions and seek an army system that suits China's specific features and the principles of various types of army building. It is necessary for us to inherit and carry forward the fine tradition of our army, constantly study new developments, solve new problems and push forward our army building in a down-to-earth manner.

Today, the great task of achieving the four modernizations in our great socialist motherland is calling on us. Stepping on the land of our motherland and bearing the expectations of the people, the workers' and peasants' Red Army, the Eighth Route Army and the new Fourth Army in those years boldly and heroically headed for the battlefield in seeking liberation. In order to build our army into a strong, modern and regular revolutionary army, let us learn from the example of the older generations and, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission, advance bravely.

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A CRACK FORCE THAT DEFENDED THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE SHAANXI-GANSU-NINGXIA BORDER REGION--REMINISCENCES OF THE REAR CORPS OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY DURING THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPAN

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[Article by Xiao Jingguang [5618 0513 0342]]

[Text] During the second half of 1937, the Japanese aggressor troops were swollen with arrogance and threatened to eliminate China within 3 months. Several hundred thousand of the KMT troops on the battlefields of North China became terror-stricken at the news and retreated in defeat again and again. To rescue China from national crisis, our party established the anti-Japanese National United Front. The Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army the the Red Army in the northern part of Shaanxi were redesignated as the 115th Division, 120th Division and 129th Division of the Eighth Route Army after they had successfully accomplished the task of the long march and arrived at the northern part of Shaanxi Province. They marched to the forefront of resisting Japanese troops and penetrated far behind enemy lines to establish anti-Japanese democratic base areas and shoulder historical tasks of resisting Japan and rescuing the nation. To defend the party Central Committee and nation's anti-Japanese supreme headquarters--the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, the Luochuan meeting of the party Central Committee decided to release some troops from the three main divisions to form a rear corps of the Eighth Route Army.

The rear corps formed in September 1937 was initially called the rear office of the Eighth Route Army. The name was changed into rear corps in December of the same year. The rear corps were made up of 1 brigade, 11 regiments and peace preservation troops which were formerly local armed forces. There were about 10,000 people in the force. At that time, there were only 3 leaders who were assigned to the rear corps. I was a commander and concurrently political commissar, Comrade Cao Lihuai was chief of staff and Comrade Mo Wenhua was director of the political department. No positions of deputies were set and our organ was small but highly efficient. All of united as one. Thanks to the loving care and direct leadership of the military commission of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, our corps was gradually built into a crack force which was good in political quality and powerful in combat strength and which achieved outstanding results in eliminating bandit

gangs, resisting the Japanese troops, counter-campaigning against friction and accomplishing glorious historical tasks of defending the border area, the northwestern part of our country and the party Central Committee. Our corps also provided various anti-Japanese battlefields throughout the country with more than 2,000 cadres to support their anti-Japanese struggle. I personally experienced a life of fiery struggle at that time. Today when I recall the life, I feel that I still yearn for it.

## I

The rear corps was made up of troops from various quarters, including the first, second and fourth front armies of the Red Army, the Red Army in the northern part of Shaanxi Province and local armed forces. They truly came from all corners of the country. Our crack force was good in quality and most of its members had undergone the long march and grown in the environment of fierce struggle. Communist Party members formed a large proportion of the members of the troops. Cadres and fighters had a higher political consciousness and acquired the spirit and fine traditions of staunch and hard struggles. However, due to the fact that members of the corps came from various base areas which followed different systems and work styles, there existed the problem of chaotic organizational system, roving guerrilla actions, lax discipline and so forth. The phenomenon of lacking unity occurred from time to time. Under such circumstances, it was our tremendous task to build the rear corps into a regular troop with powerful combat effectiveness.

Comrade Mao Zedong directly concerned himself with the building of the rear corps and frequently asked about its work. Although he was occupied with a myriad of state affairs and was extremely busy, he always managed to find time to listen to our reports and discussed with us the work of the troops. He frequently met leading comrades of various regiments in order to grasp the situation and issue instructions for work. He concerned himself with the consolidation, life, study, combat and production of the troops as well as the formulation of some rules and regulations and took up these matters personally. When I once made a work report on how to grasp the work of building this corps, he told me cordially that the key to turning this army, which was made up of fighters from various quarters with lax discipline, into an unconquerable and indomitable regular corps with powerful combat effectiveness, lay in whether we could act in accordance with the spirit of the Gutian Congress.

We acted in line with the direction pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong. First of all, we firmly grasped the link of political and ideological education. At the end of 1937 and in July 1938 we respectively held the first and second meetings attended by leaders of the corps. At the end of 1938, we convened the first party congress of the corps and in May 1939, we held a meeting attended by cadres above battalion level. In October of the same year, a political work meeting was also convened. In the above-mentioned meetings, we stressed that we should take the ideological and political work of the party as the key link, take part in the two great campaigns of "production and study" and accomplish the four main tasks in "politics, military affairs, culture and the party's work." We put forth the slogan of "doing our best to carry out the campaign of study and build the troops into a combat school."

A regular political and educational system was established in the corps and all fighters were required to take four political classes each week and cadres extensively organized their study groups. Our purposes in providing political and ideological education were 1) to guide cadres and fighters to study Marxist theories with the "History of the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik)" and the "Political Textbook" compiled by the political department of the corps as our main teaching materials; 2) to study further the party's theories on the united front and various guiding principles and policies as well as current affairs. To strengthen the study of political theories and culture, teachers in charge of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theories and Mao Zedong works were assigned to various regiments and teachers in charge of the teaching of cultural knowledge were assigned to various companies. We also published the "Fenghuo Bao" and the "Fenghuo Supplement" and established the Fenghuo Opera Troupe and art school to enliven the cultural life of the corps. After several years' of political and ideological education, and the great movement for party consolidation in particular, cadres Marxist-Leninist level and class consciousness was considerably raised and various nonproletarian ideologies and work styles were continuously discarded. This laid a reliable foundation for regularizing and strengthening the combat effectiveness of the force.

In 1944, Comrade Mao Zedong personally summed up the experience of the political work of the rear corps and wrote the article "On the Political Work of the Army" which is regarded as an historical document. This document was formerly a political work report of the political department of the corps delivered at a senior cadre meeting of the northwest bureau of the CPC Central Committee. Actually, it was mostly written by Comrade Mao Zedong personally. This report fully affirmed the achievements in and experiences of, the political work of the rear corps and pointed out that following a series of ideological and political work and the movement for party consolidation in specific, the rear corps is full of enthusiasm of militancy, production and study and is full of vitality." This report also stressed: "Revolutionary political work led by the party is the lifeblood of the revolutionary army" and a mark which differentiated the revolutionary force from the reactionary troops. Political work meant using revolutionary spirit to educate the army so that it could fulfill various tasks assigned by the party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Without revolutionary political work, it would be impossible to establish an army which completely defended the people's interests. The fundamental reason why the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army fought so courageously in the war of resistance against Japan and could carry out hard struggle and keep on fighting in spite of all setbacks was that they conducted profound careful political work. Over the past several decades, this document has played an important guiding role in the political work of our troops.

While constantly and firmly grasping political and ideological education, we consolidated the troops both organizationally and in discipline. At a meeting attended by leaders of the rear corps, a decision on unifying the organizational system of the troops was made according to the instructions issued by Comrade Mao Zedong. The meeting also issued a call on laying a foundation for the regularization of the troops and stressed the necessity of establishing various rules and regulations and set strict demand on the military life

of the force. We unified the troop establishment and the names of various organizations as well as various rules and regulations on shift duty, briefing, meetings, reports, request for leave, inspection, summation of work and so forth. We promulgated various regulations, ordinances and orders concerning daily affairs, discipline, staff officers, combat, confidential work, documents, archives and so forth. We provided the troops with more education on discipline and placed the enforcement of discipline on the agenda of the work of party branches in companies to ensure that the troops absolutely complied with and observed various disciplines. We also strengthened the building of party branches in the companies and pay attention to bringing the role of fighting bastions of party branches and the vanguard and exemplary role of Communist Party members into full play. Through such consolidation work, we enforced strict discipline in military life, established normal order, strengthened unity and built closer relations between the army and the government on the one hand and the army and the people on the other. Hence our troops took on a new look.

In particular, we attached importance to the military training and the study of military theories and technology of the troops to constantly enhance their combat effectiveness. The rear corps did not fight so frequently as troops at the front and its tactical and technological level was mainly enhanced through military training. Comrade Mao Zedong also showed concern for the military training of the rear corps. He demanded that cadres above regiment level study military ideology, strategy and tactics and modestly study the combat experiences of troops fighting at the front. He also instructed that more practice, rather than lectures, was needed in the military training and that elicitation method of teaching should be followed. We guided our cadres and fighters to conscientiously study Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Protracted War" to master objective laws of the war of resistance against Japan. In military training, we conducted strategic training and technical training separately. The stress of technical training was laid on the four aspects: Bayonet fighting, shooting, throwing hand grenades and the enhancement of combat effectiveness in fighting at close range. The emphasis of tactical training was put on close-range combat which included the operation of squads and platoons, fighting at night, fighting on rivers and mountains and fighting carried out in particular terrains such as forests, deserts, land covered with gaoliang and so forth. While giving military training, we also paid attention to training officers and soldiers so that they possessed the combat spirit of valor and vigor. We put forth the slogan "Tasks are more important than lives." At the same time, we also ran training classes, training units and study classes for cadres at brigade and regiment levels so that cadres above squad level might have an opportunity to focus their attention on military training and study. In such a way, the combat effectiveness of our troops was considerably enhanced. This ensured that we could achieve one victory after another in real battles.

## II

After the start of the war of resistance against Japan, the conditions in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region were extremely complicated. Bandits ran rampant inside the border region. To the east of the Huanghe, the Japanese troops faced us across the river and the other three sides of the border region

were encircled ring upon ring by several hundred thousand KMT troops. However, with the support of the main force at the front and the people of the border region, the rear corps of the Eighth Route Army repulsed the enemy attacks one after another and successfully defended the border region and the party Central Committee.

In the early days of the war of resistance against Japan, because the main force of the Eighth Route Army was sent to the front, the KMT and the Japanese invaders made use of bandits to harass the border region. At that time, apart from bandits operating alone, there were 43 gangs of bandits including Xue Zhimao, Li Qinwu, Zhao Laowu and so forth. They had more than 4,000 men and 2,000 guns or so. They made a practice of looting, raping, slaughter and arson, assassinated our working personnel, sabotaged our local administrative organs and stopped at nothing in doing evil. Therefore, people at the border region could not live a stable life and social order was in chaos. Expediently eliminating bandits became an urgent task in defending the border region. The rear corps concentrated a superior force and adopted tactics of combining the practice of "vigorously pursuing and intercepting and making a joint attack" with the act of mobilizing the masses in order to disintegrate the bandits politically and suppress them militarily. Within a period of less than a year, we basically wiped out those bandits after a score of big and small battles. When I reported the news to Comrade Mao Zedong, he felt pleasantly surprised and immediately drafted a telegram and sent it to various anti-Japanese base areas throughout the country to cite the rear corps.

From March 1938 to 1940, the Japanese aggressor troops attacked our front at the flood prevention zone of the border region on scores of occasions. By relying on their superiority in airplanes and artilleries and using gas shells, they tried to fight their way across the Huanghe River to launch a decisive war to quickly destroy the border region. However, the rear corps, and the 359th brigade which reinforced it, closely united with the people of the border region and exerted joint efforts to build strong defense works stretching more than 1,000 li along the flood prevention zone. With the powerful support of the main force of our troops stationed at the northwestern part of Shanxi Province, we defeated the attack of the Japanese aggressor troops after 78 big and small battles. They did not dare to march forward even an inch. While fighting those battles, we did not merely adopt defensive tactics. Instead we vigorously made a flank attack on the enemy. For instance, when the enemy was marching toward the flood prevention zone for the first time, our troops launched a night attack on the enemy battalions from the Wanglaopo Mountain near the Fenli Highway. After fighting with bayonets, which lasted for several hours, we defeated an enemy's unit, wiped out more than 200 soldiers and seized a lot of booty. In the battle of Songjiachuan, more than 15,000 enemy troops tried to fight their way across the river behind the artillery screens and air raid. Our troops and people at the border region held fast to their positions day and night. After a fierce battle, which lasted for 3 days and nights, the enemy's plot of fighting their way across the river did not succeed and they were compelled to retreat. In the battles to check the enemy's attack on Jiaxian County, its attempt to seize crossing sites and prevent it from crossing the Huanghe River, we met its attack calmly and adopted the tactic of "crossing half of the river to strike blows at the



enemy." In the meantime, we sent our troops to penetrate into the enemy's rear area to carry out a flank attack. The Japanese troops were crushed and defeated and their plot to fight their way across the Huanghe River did not succeed.

To the fighters of the rear corps, their most frequent and complicated task was to carry out the struggle to counter the friction created by the KMT. After the fall of Wuhan in 1938, the diehards of the KMT were inactive in fighting the Japanese aggressors. However, they actively pursued a domestic anti-communist policy and set off an anti-communist upsurge on three occasions. They harassed, sabotaged and blockaded the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region. Under the personal direction of Comrade Mao Zedong, our rear corps carried out a series of struggles to counter the friction. When we were launching such struggles, Comrade Mao Zedong taught us that we should stick to the principles of "with good reason, with the advantage and with restraint," "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack," "we will not fight unless we are sure of victory" and "stop when we reach the limit." I still remember that when Yan Xishan was frantically carrying out anti-communist activities in 1939 to attack the new army in Shanxi led by the party, the party Central Committee sent Comrade Wang Ruofei and me to the town of Qiulin to talk with Yan Xishan. We brought with us Comrade Mao Zedong's personal letter to Yan Xishan. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote in the letter the principle of "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack." Yan Xishan was scared after reading it and demanded that the last sentence be changed into "we will defend ourselves." Comrade Mao Zedong insisted that not a single word could be changed and that we should firmly stick to the principle "if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack."

In the struggle to counter the friction created by the KMT, there were several things which left a deep impression on me. They enabled us to realize Comrade Mao Zedong's superb skill of struggle.

The first thing was that from the end of 1939 to the spring of 1940, when the Japanese aggressor troops were strengthening their attack against the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region, the diehards of the KMT began their first anti-communist upsurge. Chiang Kai-shek ordered the KMT reactionary troops, which encircled the border region, to attack and occupy 5 counties including Chunhua, Xunyi, Zhengning, Ningxian and Zhenyuan, and 6 districts and 43 villages at the border region. Just at this critical juncture, the party Central Committee decided to transfer the 359th brigade to reinforce the border region. When Comrade Wang Zhen led the brigade to march toward Suide, the Japanese aggressor troops were fighting their way across the river. He Shaonan, the KMT commissioner in Suide, was terror-stricken at the news and ran away. Our party Central Committee ordered Comrade Wang Zhen to take the concurrent post of the commissioner of Suide to maintain social order there. However, when the Japanese troops were defeated by us, He Shaonan came back again to try to seize the domain and create friction. Of course, he was resolutely counter-attacked by us. The KMT reactionaries seized this opportunity to give enormous publicity to the incident in order to discredit us. To tell people of the whole country about the truth of this incident and expose the anti-communist plot of the KMT, Comrade Mao Zedong did a very clever thing. He

personally drafted a telegram of commendation on behalf of Comrade Wang Zhen and sent it to the KMT authorities in my name. While citing the great achievements of Comrade Wang Zhen in resisting the Japanese troops, the telegram also exposed He Shaonan's crimes of taking bribes and bending the law as well as abandoning Suide. The KMT and Chiang Kai-shek did not know how to reply. This was a method of using attack as a means of defense.

Another thing was that in January 1941 diehards of the KMT created the "Southern Anhui incident" and began the second anti-communist upsurge. More than 400,000 troops of the units of Hu Zhongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui, and 3 peace preservation brigades and 10 peace preservation corps strictly sealed off the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region. Again Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the article "On the situation of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region." After his personal revision, the article was translated into foreign languages and published. The article told the world about the political, economic and military development of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region and revealed how the KMT troops created friction at the border region and enforced a triple-depth blockade. It also made known to the public the designations of the KMT troops which sealed off the border. This laid completely bare Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist plots.

During the second half of 1942, as required by the development of the situation of the war of resistance against Japan and the struggle to repel the attack of the troops of the KMT diehards against the border region, the party Central Committee decided to establish joint defense forces of the five provinces including Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, Shanxi and Suiyuan. The rear corps was led by the joint defense forces of the five provinces. Thus the military strength of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia region was greatly expanded. This created favorable conditions and contributed to shattering the massive military attack of Hu Zhongnan.

### III

The production campaign of the rear corps started as early as in 1938. At that time, fighters of the rear corps led a very hard life. On an average, each fighter had only five fen a day for meals and wore shabby clothes. Some of them wore cotton-padded coats in summer and shorts in winter or even went barefoot on ice. To overcome economic difficulties, improve the livelihood of our troops and lighten the burden on the people, Comrade Mao Zedong told us that we should learn to carry out production and that we should combine production, study and combat. In accordance with the instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong, at the second meeting attended by leaders of the corps held in July 1938, we put forward the slogan of "Production and Study." At a party congress held in December of the same year, we put forth the slogan "Adopt a posture of fighting to speed up production and turn our military units into a place for collective production." Thereafter, we regarded production as a constant task of our army units. At that time, the purpose of our production was to improve the livelihood of army troops and our main efforts were devoted to planting vegetables, raising pigs, making straw sandals, spinning wool, weaving cotton cloth and so forth. Although the scale of our production was not large, we achieved marked results. Our fighters' food, uniforms, daily necessities and so forth were greatly improved. This provided experiences and set a good example for the future mass production campaign.



After 1939, the diehards of the KMT stepped up their attack, enforced a strict economic blockade on the border region stopped regular pay for the Eighth Route Army and began one anti-communist upsurge after another. This caused extreme difficulties in the financial supplies of the border region. We had enormous difficulties in supplying food and clothing to the army and people at the border region. At that time, people at the border region had to bear heavy burdens and the masses complained about this. Comrade Mao Zedong told all comrades everywhere that the people would support us if we attached importance to the development of production and lightened the burden on the masses. Otherwise, they would not support us and the revolution would collapse halfway. One day, Comrade Mao Zedong called Lin Boqu, Gao Gang and me together and asked us: What is our purpose in coming to the northern part of Shaanxi Province? He then said: We came here to make revolution. Now the Japanese imperialists and the diehards of the KMT are trying to bottle us up and starve us to death. What should we do? There are three paths we can follow: first, since it is no longer possible to carry out the revolution, we had better give it up halfway and go home. Second, if we are not willing to give up and cannot adopt effective methods, we had better wait and starve ourselves to death. Third, we can use our hands to develop production and overcome difficulties by relying on our own efforts. After hearing Comrade Mao Zedong's humorous remarks, we agreed to his method of developing production by relying on our own efforts. After that, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong called on the party, government, army, civilians and schools at the border region to exert a concerted effort to launch the mighty campaign of mass production.

In the mighty campaign of mass production, the broad masses of the officers and men of the rear corps were the most active and scored the most marked achievements in production. In 1943, they opened up 210,000 mu of wasteland and reaped 30,000 dan of refined grain. They operated 11 wool workshops and 52 other mills which produced clothing, shoes and stockings, leather, wooden articles, large handcarts and so forth, in addition to coalpits, charcoal kilns, brick and tile kilns and ceramic kilns. We wove 13,000 bolts of cloth and carried out animal husbandry, transportation, business and so forth. A number of advanced and exemplary figures such as Zhao Zhankui, Wu Shenghua, Hu Qingshan, Zhang Zhiguo, Feng Guoyu, Zhao Zhankui and so forth, from all fronts of industrial and agricultural production and army units, came to the fore. After the mass campaign of production, we gradually solved the problems of the supplies for the army units and self-sufficiency.

Right at the beginning of the mass campaign of production, the 359th brigade put forth the slogan "We do not want a single piece of grain, a cun of cloth and a fen of money from the state." They marched to Nanniwan and other places to reclaim wasteland and begin farming. Some companies went straight to barren hills to open up wasteland. When they had no place to live, they slept in the open on the barren hills. When they had nothing to eat, they allayed their hunger with wild herbs and grass roots. They worked hard for several months at a time. Cadres and fighters used their own hands to turn the desolate and uninhabited Nanniwan into "fertile land of the northern part of Shaanxi." In 1944, "half of the grain they produced was surplus grain" and the objective of one pig for two persons and two goats for one person on the average was attained.

The enemy enforced its economic blockade with an attempt to bottle us up and starve us to death. However, their goal was not attained. On the contrary, under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, we developed production and brought forth a prosperous economy through the campaign of mass production. We had ample food and clothing and created wonders which have rarely occurred in the world. Our American friend Snow and patriotic overseas Chinese Chen Jiageng came to Yanan. They highly praised the scene of hard struggle and prosperity at the border region. Under such arduous circumstances, we never bowed to difficulties. On the contrary, we overcame them. What did we rely upon to conquer those difficulties? I think that we mainly relied on the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. The whole party and army kept in line with the party Central Committee and united as one and all of us were inspired by the lofty ideals of serving the people and the spirit of working hard for the prosperity of the country. In this way, difficulties gave way. Comrade Mao Zedong said that people needed a bit of spirit. At that time, we were of one heart and one mind to defeat the Japanese imperialists and to build a prosperous and strong new China. We fought for these common objectives. Therefore, no difficulties could daunt us. Today, on the new long march of carrying out the four modernizations and making China rich and powerful, we particularly need the "Spirit of Nanniwan!"

In 1945 when I was to leave Yanan for the northeast to take up a new post, Comrade Mao Zedong talked with me for a long time. He said that the rear corps was a good force which had resolutely implemented the correct line of the party Central Committee and the task entrusted by the party. He fully affirmed all the achievements scored by the rear corps and its contributions to defending the party Central Committee and the border region. Actually, all these achievements could not be separated from his personal direction and concern! On the occasion marking the 55th anniversary of the founding of our army, we particularly cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong, who made tremendous contributions to the building of our army. Comrade Mao Zedong's military thought on the people's army and people's war will always be our source of strength for winning victory.

CSO: 4004/45

## HEIGHTEN PARTY SPIRIT, IMPROVE THE STYLE OF STUDY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 16-18

[Article by commentator]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have taken a big stride forward toward heightening party spirit and improving the style of study. In order to victoriously shoulder the ever more arduous and strenuous tasks entrusted to us by the party and the state, it is still necessary for us to make greater efforts in this respect. On the ideological, theoretical, educational, news, literary, art and publication fronts, not only the comrades in leading positions but every cadre and every research worker, including the comrades who have moved to the second line and who have temporarily left their jobs for recuperation or retired, are confronted with the problem of constantly heightening party spirit and improving the style of study.

Heightening party spirit is inseparable from improving the style of study. Comrade Mao Zedong linked heightening of party spirit with the Marxist style of study. It is chiefly due to sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques--this historical reason--that until now we have not succeeded in fundamentally improving party work style. Although party work style in quite a few localities, departments and units is much better than it was in the past and is getting better and better, there are still considerable gaps compared with the best level ever recorded. In 1943, Comrade Chen Yun, who was head of the organizational department at that time, delivered a speech to the literary and art workers due to leave for the rural areas. It is almost 40 years since then and yet the truth contained in that speech is still applicable today with respect to comrades who engage in literary and art work. It is likewise applicable with respect to comrades who engage in propaganda, cultural and other work. He said, whether you are a specialist in a certain field or a person engaged in some sort of work, you should first regard yourself as an ordinary CPC member. Every CPC member should conscientiously think over this problem. As a CPC member, whether you have scored great achievements, hold a high position or have been in the party for a long time, do you first of all think that you are an ordinary CPC member when you are speaking, writing and doing work? We express our readiness to obey the party organizations when we take the oath on being admitted to the party.

However, when the organization assigns work to us, can we always resolutely abide by the assignments and strive to accomplish the tasks? Naturally, it is permissible, by stating the reasons, to ask the organization to consider assigning us another job so that we can work more and better for the party. However, from the erroneous words and deeds of some party members we can see that they have forgotten even the basic rules a party member should abide by. With respect to this matter, we should not be excessively accommodating. When a party member exceeds what is proper in both his words and deeds, he should make self-criticism and correct his mistakes. Otherwise, the discipline of our party will become lax and corrupted. At present, there are indeed a small number of party members who regard themselves as infallible and who, when writing articles or delivering speeches, do not consider whether their articles and speeches conform to the party's line, principles and policies. They only remember that they are specialists in certain fields or heads of some sort but forget that they are first of all CPC members. This is very bad indeed.

The leading system of our party must be reformed and the forms of party organization may also undergo some changes. However, there is no change in the fact that every party member should abide by the party rules and regulations. So long as you are a CPC member, whether you are a head of a certain department or a specialist in a certain field, you must be honest and faithful to the CPC branch, the general CPC branch and the CPC committee and to the organization. You should abide by the party rules and regulations and should not violate them. You should obey the leadership, supervision and education of the organization in which you are in and should not reject this leadership, supervision and education.

The CPC Central Committee has on many occasions raised the question of consolidating the party. It is first of all necessary to conduct ideological education in order to raise ideological consciousness and, on the basis of the ideological education, carry out consolidation of the organization step by step. In the course of the ideological education, every party member should conscientiously judge if he conforms to the requirements for a party member. If he does not come up to the requirements, he should strive to achieve them. If he does not want to exert himself and if he is really unqualified, it is no good letting him stay in the party. It is necessary for every party member to constantly consider this question: Am I a qualified or an unqualified party member? What should I do if I am unqualified? There are only two ways out: One is to strive to become qualified and the other is to refuse to make any efforts and so have to give up party membership. It will not do for a person who is unqualified to stay in the party for this will implicate the party and undermine the party's image. This is a very serious question with respect to comrades who are already party members now and comrades who have applied for party membership. In order to be a qualified party member, it is imperative for our words and deeds to conform to the requirements of the party constitution.

In a socialist country like ours, the party is in a leading position. The composition, organization and conditions of the party are extremely

important not only to the party itself but also to the entire cause of the socialist modernization program, the destiny of the state and the prospects of the nation. Recently a leading comrade of the CPC Central Committee said that efforts should be made to enable our party members to become qualified party members and our cadres to become qualified cadres so that the combat effectiveness of the party not only comes up to but also surpasses the highest level in the party's history. If the party organizations at various levels and all party members come up to the requirements of the party, we shall be fully confident of greatly pushing our work forward and smoothly accomplishing the historic task of the socialist modernization program. No matter how many difficulties and obstacles we may meet, we shall have sufficient strength to vanquish them. Confronted with such a serious problem, no party member should adopt the attitude of "letting things drift if they do not affect one personally." We should not only strive to become a qualified party member but also be responsible for supervising other party members and find out if they are qualified as party members. With respect to unqualified party members, it is necessary to criticize and help them. If they turn a deaf ear to criticism and refuse to accept help, we must be bold to speak out and make suggestions on dealing with them to the party organization. This is a manifestation of holding ourselves responsible to the party, the people and the cause of socialism and communism.

The question of heightening party spirit is the lifelong duty of every party member and its requirements must be increasingly higher. First of all, we should strive to be a qualified party member. If we fail to become qualified, how can we raise the requirements? Now we do not set demands from the highest standards but from the requirements of the party rules and regulations. As far as a CPC member is concerned, these are the minimum requirements. If a party member fails to abide by the party rules and regulations, how can he fight for the cause of communism all his life and place the party's interests in the first place?

Every party member must be subject to supervision. The CPC committee, general CPC branch and CPC branch and every party member must first of all supervise the leading responsible comrade of their department and see whether he carries out or violates the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee. If violations have been noticed, criticism can be made to his face. If a party member has been subjected to retaliation on this count, he can lodge complaints with the CPC committee at the higher levels up to the Central Committee.

Heightening party spirit intrinsically involves the necessity of improving the style of study.

Propaganda work is a task imbued with strong party spirit and scientific nature. Broadly speaking, it is in the category of social science. In the past few years, tremendous achievements have indeed been scored in the research work of social science. Especially in the economic and political aspects, the numerous social science workers have taken an active part in the discussions of relevant questions and the many views they have raised

have played a good role in practical work. They have also done much better than before in conducting investigation and study and in collecting data and their consciousness is also higher than before. This constitutes progress.

However, it is still necessary to greatly improve our style of study. For example, in the past few years, great changes have taken place in the rural areas and the situation is excellent. The peasants heartily welcome the policies of the CPC Central Committee and everyone is jubilant. However, some research workers refuse to go to the rural areas. They are reluctant or unwilling to listen to the voice of millions of people and the views of the worker and peasant masses. This cannot be considered as good style of study. Even if we make cursory observation for a very short time, it will greatly help our work and contribute to our understanding. It is very important to ask the departments concerned to supply some material. However, no matter how rich the material may be, it is still material gained in the past or secondhand material. As far as people who engage in research work are concerned, it is necessary to gather secondhand material. However, where conditions permit, it is more important to gather firsthand material. After all, there are great disparities between the material gained from written documents and actual life. If we manage to find time to go to various provinces, prefectures, counties, communes and production brigades and have a look at the peasants' homes, we shall feel that we have gained much more substantial and abundant material than we did from written material. This greatly helps to increase our knowledge and broaden our thinking. Ours is a very big country. The natural and economic conditions and the cultural levels in various localities of the rural areas are different and the economic developments are very uneven. It is therefore necessary to have various forms of agricultural production responsibility system. Even the same type of responsibility system, such as the implementation of the contract system in an overall way, often varies a great deal in localities of different economic development. In developing agriculture, it is also necessary to rely mainly on the planned economy and supplement it with regulation by market mechanism; and, with respect to the peasants' freedom, if we do not handle it well, it will affect the state plan. If we go to the grassroots to conduct investigation and study, we shall be able to confirm that the principles laid down by the CPC Central Committee conform to reality and thus deepen our understanding. There are many branches of learning in social science and so the requirements for getting in touch with reality cannot follow the same pattern. A person who engages in the study of history comes into contact with material quite different from that studied by a person who engages in solving practical problems. Even if you are a person who engages in the study of history, it will also do you a lot of good if you go to the grassroots and have a look. Owing to different historical conditions in the past and different economic development in various localities, the implementation of public ownership of the means of production and the agricultural production responsibility system also frequently bear the imprint of history. This historical imprint cannot but exert an influence on current work and practice.



The CPC Central Committee and the State Council are dealing with practical problems every day. If the comrades who engage in the study of social science do not understand new situations and fail to put forward good proposals for solving new problems, it is impossible to do our work well. Even if we manage to knock together some opinions, they will not be accepted. We have a number of economists, some of whom have played a very good role in helping the CPC Central Committee and the State Council to determine the principles and policies. Now the party and state attach great importance to social science and place tremendous hopes on it. So long as there are good suggestions, the party and state will give serious consideration to them. This situation has never occurred since liberation. However, have we put forward programs, plans and suggestions which have original ideas and analysis and which are really capable of solving problems? Yes, but not very many. Are there people who can put forward such proposals? Yes, but they are not very many either. How shall we change this state of affairs in order to meet the needs of the party and state? It is necessary to gradually make efforts, to go deep into the realities of life and to get in touch with the masses. If, by 1985, most of the recipes devised by people who engage in the study of economics are suited to the case and are capable of curing the sickness and the number of such recipes is getting greater and greater, this proves that we have improved our style of study and that we have made great progress in our work.

In order to reform the economic system in an all-round way, it is necessary for us to conscientiously understand and give consideration to foreign experiences. However, this can only serve as a reference. There are 1 billion people in China, 800 million of whom are peasants. It just does not work to copy indiscriminately the most successful experience from any country or locality. What is most important is that we should constantly seek and sum up our experience in our practice. It is necessary to attach sufficient importance to our own experiences, both positive and negative. In reforming the economic system, it is necessary to fully study the successful experiences during the 1950's and, in light of the current situation, go on advancing and making a breakthrough. With respect to these questions, have our comrades who engage in economic and research work made a thorough study of them? Have they placed them on the agenda? These matters are closely related to the improvement of our style of study.

Improvement of the style of study has become the key to doing a good job of, and improving the level of, the entire propaganda and social science work. It has become the key to playing our role in the socialist modernization program. To this end we must make unremitting efforts.

CSO: 4004/46

## ON MASS SUPERVISION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 19-24, 30

[Article by Xiaong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] The principle of mass supervision is a fundamental principle in the political affairs of our party and state. Respecting and safeguarding the masses' right of supervision, bringing the role of mass supervision into full play and seriously raising the level of mass supervision are a very important aspect in improving and perfecting socialist democracy. After talking about the principle of democracy in the relationship between the leaders and the masses (see RED FLAG No 9, 1982), it is still necessary to specially discuss this problem.

### I

Our socialist system is a highly democratic social system. Under it, the people, who are makers of history, have basically changed their status and become masters of their country and society as a whole. People's rights, interests and will are supreme. Any words and deeds harmful to the people's rights and interests and violating the people's will are impermissible. As stipulated in the general principles in the draft of the revised constitution: "The people have the right to administer the affairs of the country and its economic, cultural and social affairs, according to provisions of the law, through various channels and in various forms."

Under the socialist system, there are various forms in which the people exercise their rights to be master of the house. The NPC and the local people's congresses at various levels which are produced through election, the workers' (or commune members') congresses of primary organizations, the mass autonomous organizations at the basic level, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, and the administrative organs at various levels ranging from the State Council to the grassroots and elected and supervised by these organs of power are the basic forms in which the people administer the state affairs. They are the very basic forms reflecting the essential distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. The essence of socialist democracy is that the people are the masters of their country and the state functionaries are "servants" supervised by the people. The various aspects of the political, economic



and social affairs of the state are administered according to the principle of democracy, and the relationship between man and man (including that between the leadership and the masses) is also established and developed according to the principle of democracy. It must be emphatically pointed out that extensive mass supervision of state affairs is an extremely important form of socialist democracy. For example, under the socialist system, through their mass organizations and various social bodies, through various channels such as meetings, letters, visits, newspapers and other publications, and broadcasts, and by such means as discussion, proposal, investigation, criticism, reporting an offense to the authorities, exposing an offense, and making inquiries and complaints, and even by instituting a lawsuit, the people may fully express their will, aspirations and demands. It should be said that the most extensive mass supervision from below such as this is one of the essential characteristics of socialist democracy, is the most extensive, most regular and most direct form for exercising the people's rights to be masters of the house and plays a very important role in guaranteeing that our country will advance along the road to socialism. Only by taking this approach to the position and role of mass supervision in state affairs can we really and comprehensively understand the content and meaning of the people's rights to be masters of the house.

However, there really are people who not only shut their eyes to the basic forms in which the Chinese people exercise their rights to be masters of the house but also neglect mass supervision, which is an important form. They hold that since the people are the masters of the house, everyone should directly exercise the right to administer state affairs, otherwise it is useless to talk about the people's right to be masters of the house. Basing themselves on this understanding, they say that democracy guided by centralism cannot really embody the will and interests of the people and that democracy guided by centralism or exercise of power by entrusting it to a few representatives will "inevitably" lead to "alienation" of people's power. For this reason, they demand that the state affairs be directly governed by the trade unions. This view is very wrong and harmful.

Democracy and centralism constitute the unity of opposites. Under the conditions of socialism, administration set up in an organized way, that is, the form of exercising the administrative power by the representatives elected voluntarily by the people, is a condition for turning society into a united, organic whole. People's rights, will and interests cannot be expressed by the form in which everyone directly administers state affairs and becomes a direct administrator of state affairs, just as not all on a boat can be helmsmen at the same time. Otherwise, if everyone steers the boat as he wishes, this boat cannot advance along a charted course. Therefore, no matter to what extent democracy in our country has been developed and no matter to what extent our democratic system has been improved, the necessity of assigning a few representatives to exercise the administrative power cannot be basically negated. That is to say, there should always be a distinction between the administrators and those governed by them.

Of course, when we acknowledge the necessity of the division of labor between the administrators and those governed by them, we do not mean that a few people or a certain group of people may manipulate state affairs according to their subjective wish. Under the conditions of socialism, only the people's united will and purpose formed in the principle of democratic centralism can manipulate the state affairs. If and when the people's will and purpose have been centralized on the basis of democracy and become a firm and correct orientation, they should be carried out in a unified and organized way by a few representatives--this is the most effective form of administration. The people will have directly exercised their rights to be masters of the house when their united will and purpose have not been distorted and can be fully and comprehensively realized under the supervision of these representatives. The essence of being masters of the house can only be and must be expressed in the form in which the people's will and purpose are centralized on the basis of democracy and carried out under centralized guidance, so as to ensure that they are realized completely and thoroughly. It is unrealistic and is even worse than a fantasy to argue that the people's right to be masters of the house means each individual may directly administer state affairs. We have learned very impressive lessons on this point during the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Some people cherish the idea of letting people directly administer state affairs through the trade unions. This idea is equally unrealistic. Doubtlessly, as the belt or bridge between the party and the masses, as an organization attracting and guiding the masses to participate in administration and as a school where the masses learn to administer affairs, the trade unions play a very important role in the whole course of exercising the people's rights to be masters of the house. However, organizing the masses through the trade union to participate in administration of state affairs is different from letting every member of the trade union directly administer state affairs. The trade union is a mass organization of the working class. It is not an administrative organ. Even after an enterprise has established its trade union, all divisions of work and the various functions resulting from these divisions of work in the enterprise cannot be written off. A trade union does not have administrative power. Led by the party committee, the congress of staff and workers and its administrative committee are administrative organs and the factory director and his office under their supervision have administrative power. In an enterprise, the trade union can only play its role in attracting and guiding the staff and workers to participate in administration and to learn to administer affairs. This is more true in the administration of state affairs. It is the NPC, the local people's congresses at various levels and their administrative offices, and not the trade unions, that have the power to administer state affairs. The trade unions can only play a role in attracting and guiding the staff and workers to participate in the administration of the affairs of the state and its economic, cultural and social affairs.

In short, the people's democratic dictatorship is our state system. Democratic centralism is our government system. That means the unity of

democracy and centralism. Democracy must be guided by centralism and is not anarchy divorced from centralism; centralism should be based on democracy and is not personal arbitration divorced from democracy. Only by combining democracy with centralism, combining leadership from the top with supervision from below, correctly exercising the people's right to be masters of the house and correctly handling and solving the dialectical relations between democracy and centralism in practice will it be possible to guarantee that the people's right to be masters of the house may be really exercised.

## II

An important question is how to guarantee the overall realization of the people's will and purpose under the condition where a few representatives exercise administrative power. Apart from the party's leadership, mass supervision is an important factor.

Under the conditions of socialism, a few representatives (including representatives of congresses of grassroots organizations, representatives of people's congresses at various levels and the leaders of administrative organs at various levels established by these congresses) must have a good mass base before they are promoted to the leading positions. However, in no way should a leader regard himself as a natural representative of the masses even if he has been elected according to the most rigid democratic principles and procedures. A genuine representative of the people not only should "receive order" from the people but also must constantly maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the people and consciously and unconditionally put himself under mass supervision. This is the condition for guaranteeing that these representatives have the most important political quality of maintaining ties with the masses and being faithful and responsible to the people and is also the base for guaranteeing that the people's will and purpose can be realized.

We must realize that ours is a country with feudal autocratic traditions of more than 2,000 years. Therefore, the ideas of the feudal landlord class are still pestering the people in varying degrees. These ideas are accompanied by the influence of the small producers' backward ideas and bourgeois decadent ideas. Ideas of this kind often influence some people imperceptibly. Some people holding leading positions also find it difficult to completely extricate themselves from these ideas. Once their positions have changed, some comrades seem to have a sudden rise in social status. They get swollen-headed, stand high above the masses and take their place as the "patriarch" of a unit or department. Others are arrogant, have too high an opinion of themselves, act arbitrarily, are heedless of the people's demands and sufferings and become "overlords" sitting on the backs of the people. What is more, some of them even go to the extent of abusing the power given them by the people, using public office for private gain, stealing what is entrusted to their care, violating the law, deceiving the people and committing crimes. At present, a great deal of information on hitting at economic crimes has shown that some people who could not resist the attack by the bourgeois "sugarcoated bullets" have fallen, become

insects boring into the socialist undertakings and betrayed the interests of the people. There are many reasons why these people have degenerated. An important reason is that the role of mass supervision has been weakened. Our leading comrades should of course be the first to set high demands on themselves, consciously maintain the purity of communism and at the same time consciously accept mass supervision. An important use of mass supervision is to restrict our leaders and prevent them from degeneration. Whoever he may be, a leader lives in a particular environment, that is, he lives among the masses within a certain scope. The leaders' undesirable tendencies and behaviors, such as seeking privileges and practicing bureaucratism, and even their violations of law and discipline cannot escape the sharp eyes of the masses. We do not deny that the binding force of law and discipline and the investigation by the higher authorities will effectively prevent the leaders from degeneration. However, such binding force and investigation cannot be divorced from mass supervision. Mass supervision is the base on which the binding force and investigation play their role. It is an important condition for preventing the leaders from degeneration.

However, we should in no way interpret the meaning and role of mass supervision in a simple, narrow sense, and create the impression that mass supervision aims only at preventing the leaders from degeneration. If so, is it correct to say that mass supervision is no longer needed if the leaders do not seek privileges and go in for unhealthy practices? No, we cannot say that! Leaders of all departments and units must maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the masses even if they have a mind to serve the people wholeheartedly. The understanding of anyone is subject to certain limitations. A leader's understanding, intentions and planning have to be supplemented and revised by the wisdom and experience of the masses. Whether his deeds and measures are correct and effective has to be tested by practice among the masses. To minimize the limitation of his understanding, a leader must strengthen his ties with the masses to the greatest possible extent, feel the pulse of the masses, listen to their voice and represent the interests and demands of the masses. In this sense, we should not confine the role of mass supervision to the scope of preventing some leaders from degeneration, or to the scope of preventing the consequences caused by the personal character of certain leaders, or the scope of passively preventing some leaders from degeneration. A more important aspect of mass supervision is its active role as a tester and rectifier, that is, it will enable the leaders to receive education from the masses and also will broaden their scope of vision, enlighten them and tell them experiences based on vivid practice, so that they will go deep into the realities of life, keep in close contact with the people's struggle and subsequently avoid or correct their deviations and mistakes in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and their shortcomings and faults in representing the people's basic interests. Therefore, the leaders on all fronts and of all departments and units are involved in the question of receiving mass supervision in all fields of work.

To the broad masses of people, extensive mass supervision throughout the society is a form of education and self-education with tremendous moral

strength. The relationship between man and man under the socialist system is a comradely relationship of equality, unity, friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation. It is based on loving the motherland and the people, cherishing labor and science, protecting public property, upholding socialism and supporting the party's leadership. In establishing and developing this relationship, it is necessary to improve the general mood of society, cultivate socialist ethics and create persistent and powerful public opinion of justice, that is, it is necessary to create a social environment where good morals prevail over all undesirable practices. Extensive mass supervision throughout the society is a moral strength which is present everywhere. It is a prerequisite for the creation of such a social environment. In administering state affairs, while efforts are made to bring the role of mass supervision from below into full play, attention should also be paid to developing and strengthening mass supervision over the relationship between man and man and bringing its role in education and self-education into full play. This is of great importance in improving the general mood of society, protecting social ethics, maintaining good order in society and in work and daily life and subsequently ensuring the normal development of state affairs and realization of the people's basic interests.

In short, under the socialist system, practicing and persisting in mass supervision participated in by the greatest possible number of people is an important measure for preventing our leaders from degeneration and ensuring that the political hue of our party and state will never change. It is also an important link in improving and strengthening the leadership work of our party and state in various fields. At the same time, it is an important condition for developing and perfecting the comradely relationship between man and man under the socialist system. Only by proceeding from these three aspects to understand the meaning and role of mass supervision and by practically and not emptily, concretely and not abstractly, consciously and not passively establishing and developing a powerful mass supervision which covers the whole society, takes the people's basic interests as its core and embraces all spheres and aspects of state affairs, can we develop socialist democracy in an all-round manner, ensure the prosperity of our cause and forever be in an invincible position.

### III

To ensure exercise of mass supervision, it is imperative to handle properly the relationships in the following aspects:

First, the relationship between full reliance on the leaders' consciousness in accepting mass supervision and application of the law and system in ensuring mass supervision.

We must believe that the majority of our cadres and leaders who have been educated for many years by our party understand deeply our party's nature and tasks and their duties and obligations. Most of them are highly conscious in accepting mass supervision. This is the mainstream among our leaders and cadres.

However, there are actually some people who lack consciousness in this aspect. They regard the solemn duties assigned them by the party and people as the power which enables them to do whatever they like. They also regard the masses as "subjects" governed by them. They pose as "special citizens" and "special party members" and simply ignore mass supervision, and no one dare to criticize them, educate them and take disciplinary action against them. Some of them even suppress mass supervision, make things hard for those who make criticisms or proposals, and go to the extent of publicly retaliating against them.

Under these circumstances, while arousing, relying on and developing the consciousness of the leaders in accepting mass supervision, we must use the law and system to ensure mass supervision, so that those who ignore and trample on the people's democratic rights will be kept within bounds and even be punished. Under the socialist system, this is a question of fundamental importance and a question of principle. For this reason, the new constitution (draft revision), the new party constitution (draft revision) and "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" specified the people's rights to exercise mass supervision and stipulated that the leaders must accept mass supervision. At present, we are taking further steps to improve the socialist economic and political systems and various administrative systems. The question of safeguarding the people's rights to supervise state affairs in various fields has attracted general attention. The point now is to institutionalize the ways, methods, forms and means of exercising mass supervision. For example, the departments and leaders concerned must give replies within a specified period of time to proposals, criticisms and opinions put forth by the masses except the troublemakers; concrete rules should be laid down governing the forms and methods whereby the leading cadres at various levels periodically and directly hear the criticism and opinions of the masses; the system governing handling of letters and reception of visitors by the leading organs at various levels should be improved; newspapers should go further to conduct mass criticism from below, and so forth. At the same time, it should be specially emphasized that the laws and systems regarding the exercise of mass supervision must be strictly implemented. Only in this way will it be possible to carry out mass supervision on a solid basis and to prevent the people's right to exercise mass supervision from becoming an empty promise or an abstract principle.

Second, the relationship between the leaders' acceptance of mass supervision and their correct attitude toward the opinions of the masses.

Every leader must accept mass supervision. However, accepting mass supervision does not mean blindly accepting the opinions of the masses. As far as this question is concerned, it is necessary to further wipe out the pernicious influence of the so-called theory that mass movement is "natural and reasonable" advocated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. As we all know, not all opinions, appeals and demands from the masses are correct. Some of the masses may be advanced and others backward. As members of the masses, they are subject to limitations in acquiring understanding. Under different conditions, they may be subject



to influence from various quarters so that they may be inclined in different directions. For this reason, a leader must make overall, concrete analysis of the sentiments, opinions and demands of the masses, not only humbly, extensively and comprehensively listening to the opinions of the masses, especially those working on the forefront of production, scientific research and social services, but also aptly grasping the reasonable factors and components of these opinions and daring to discard the unreasonable factors and components. That is to say, he must not only "incorporate things of diverse nature" but also go through a course of considering the opinions by "discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 268) If he does not make efforts to seriously think about the essence and contents of the opinions in an overall manner, he will invariably be at a loss as to what to do, be influenced by various kinds of opinions and tendencies and be bogged down in a contradiction. This is true with some leaders. In the face of complicated conditions, they often dare not come into contact with the masses and contradictions, not knowing what course to take but always trying to take the course of least resistance. Or, they passively accede to some unreasonable demands of the masses and blindly accept the opinions of the masses. This is not a correct attitude toward mass supervision. The essential demand, the premise and the principle of mass supervision are to express the basic interests of the masses. The duty of a leader is to adopt the reasonable factors of the different opinions of the masses, including opinions contradictory to each other and biased and extreme views, and at the same time to guide the masses through persuasion and education and apply higher principles and higher demands in uniting the masses on a still higher plane. This conforms to what Comrade Mao Zedong said: "With respect to the question of the party's relationship with the masses, the party must lead the masses to carry out all their correct ideas in the light of the circumstance and educate them to correct any wrong ideas they may entertain." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1253)

Third, the relationship between the masses' spontaneous exercise of rights of supervision and their conscious exercise of rights of supervision.

The masses' spontaneous exercise of rights of supervision means the masses' direct reaction to a problem or matter according to their personal intuition, feelings and gains. This kind of reaction often cannot comprehensively and accurately embody and reflect the general, long-term and basic interests of the masses, so that in most cases, it is narrow in scope, one-sided and partial. For example, we may often hear grievances, complaints, criticisms and reproaches. This is sometimes because our leaders have not considered their work in an overall manner and have not handled it properly. However, in most cases, this is because the masses do not have an overall understanding of the situation or because their personal wishes and demands have not been satisfied. A leader should patiently listen to their voices. He should solve the personal problems of some individuals if these problems arise because he has not considered his work in an overall manner and has not handled it properly. However, as far as the masses are concerned, mass supervision has not been exercised sufficiently if it



remains at this level. If the masses proceed only from personal feelings, they cannot correctly exercise their rights of supervision and, on the contrary, they will easily be swayed by personal feelings and fail to play their role in exercising supervision.

The masses' conscious exercise of rights of supervision means the masses' making of criticisms, proposals and plans, their efforts to expose the passive, backward and gloomy phenomena in everyday life and their adoption of legal measures to carry out active intervention by proceeding from their sense of responsibility as masters of the whole country and society, from their concern for the future and destiny of the party and state and from their consciousness in the general, long-term and basic interests of the masses. The "law of civil procedure" stipulates that one has the right, through lawsuits, to actively interfere with any action which does not concern oneself and one's unit but happens to other people or other units and harms the interests of the state, the collective and the society. This means the right of social supervision. Strictly speaking, only by standing on such a high plane can we genuinely reflect the original meaning of mass supervision, really display the power of mass supervision and truly express the rights of the people to be masters of the house. We should not reject or negate the former kind of supervision, that is, spontaneous supervision, and its meaning and role because, after all, it is a direct reflection of the masses' feelings and thinking. However, we should encourage the latter kind of supervision, that is, conscious supervision. Only this kind of supervision can play an enormous educational role and have tremendous moral strength. We should continuously and vigorously carry out propaganda and education and organize and lead the masses to continuously arouse their consciousness and understanding so that mass supervision may gradually rise from the level of spontaneous supervision to the level of conscious supervision. For this reason, when we talk about mass supervision, we should set demands not only on the leaders but also on the masses.

In order to raise mass supervision to the level of conscious supervision, the masses should be enabled to attain a very high conscious and moral level, to break away from their personal, partial interests and to refrain from taking their personal feelings, gains and likes as the criteria for deciding what is right and what is wrong and what attitude they will adopt toward various problems. In short, the masses must attain a lofty realm of thought and become mature citizens, that is, citizens cherishing a lofty ideal, attaining a high moral and cultural level and observing discipline. If the masses can reach this stage of maturity, the quality of mass supervision will be greatly improved, the leaders' subjectivism, bureaucratism and undesirable personal character will be strictly supervised and curbed and the masses will also receive education and training. Undoubtedly, hardships will be involved in attaining this goal. To attain this goal, the masses must take hold of the most powerful ideological weapon, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; they must continuously increase their scientific and cultural knowledge; and they must adopt a strict scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. The masses must treasure their rights to supervise the administration of state affairs and take a serious attitude toward these rights. While exercising these rights, they should

make investigations, acquire detailed information and obtain all-round understanding of the situation. In no way should they talk irresponsibly, do as they please, act on hearsay evidence and believe in rumor, lest they abuse their rights of supervision. Only in this way will it be really possible to bring the role of mass supervision into play as a restriction and precaution, as a tester and rectifier and in education and self-education.

More than half a century ago, Lenin made a well-known remark: "A state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 234) Let our leaders take deep root in the fertile soil of the masses! Let all the people quickly become politically conscious and mature and earnestly shoulder their tasks as masters in administering state affairs!

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## A CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES AND CLASS STRUGGLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 25-30

[Article by commentator]

[Text] At present, the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic field is proceeding smoothly. This is an important guarantee for upholding the socialist road and realizing the great goal of socialist modernization. Concerning the situation, nature and importance of this struggle and the steps and general and specific policies to be followed in connection with this struggle, the party Central Committee and the State Council have made scientific analyses and provided clearcut stipulations in the "decision on cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic field" and other documents. These analyses and stipulations are playing important roles in unifying everyone's ideological awareness and guiding the deepening of the struggle. But it should also be noted that some comrades have certain vague and incorrect ideas about this struggle and the current class struggle. Continuously making things clear and rectifying these ideas are still tasks that cannot be neglected in our ideological and theoretical work and in our actual work.

### I

Some comrades have noted serious criminal activities in the economic field in the past few years, such as smuggling, illegal trading, corruption, bribery, profiteering, deception, the theft of state and collective property, and so forth, and have thus doubted the correctness of our party's policy on opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening domestic economic activities. They have even regarded these phenomena as a product of the realization of this policy itself. This doubtful attitude or view just does not hold water.

Opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy is a major policy adopted by our party on the basis of the objective laws governing socialist construction, on the basis of painful lessons learned from serious setbacks suffered as a result of a long period of carrying out "leftist" guiding ideas, and on the basis of the actual needs of modernization. Experience in the past few years has provided eloquent proof that the implementation of this policy is conducive to the readjustment, reform, reorganization and improvement of the national economy and is also conducive to the development of various economic undertakings, and agriculture and light industry

in particular. In the past few years, there has been a great increase in our foreign trade. What the state spent on improving the people's standard of living from 1979 to 1981 reached 140 billion yuan. These 3 years, 27 or 28 million people in towns and cities arranged employment. We made these achievements because, first of all, we have upheld the consistent guideline calling for independence, self-reliance and planned economy and developed the fine tradition of fighting amidst hardships. But it should also be noted that if we had continued to follow the policy of isolating the country from the world and imposing too-rigid controls on economic activities, and had refrained from carrying out and upholding the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economic policy, it would have been impossible to score these achievements.

True, serious criminal activities in the economic field have taken place under new historical conditions following our implementation of the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy. But in no way can we interpret these activities as the product of the implementation of this policy itself. Similarly, we cannot put the blame on socialist commodity production and commodity exchange just because some speculation and profiteering cases exist in our country's process of commodity circulation at its current stage. There is no doubt that only where there is a commodities and currency relationship can there be speculation and profiteering. But speculation and profiteering is not a product of socialist commodity production or commodity exchange itself. Instead, it is attributable to the poor development of commodity production, to an inadequacy of commodities, and to drawbacks and weak links existing in regard to commercial management systems and management measures. Only under these conditions can phenomena like speculation and profiteering turn from possibilities into realities. To energetically develop socialist commodity production, increase the total volume of social commodities and improve the circulation of commodities--this is an effort to create adequate conditions for digging out the economic soil that gives rise to crimes like profiteering and speculation. Under the new historical conditions, where we open the door to foreign countries and seek to enliven domestic economic activities, the appearance of serious criminal activities in the economic field is attributable to social historical factors in many fields. Our implementation of the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening economic activities has taken place against a general historical background resulting, from 10 years of destruction against our party, state and society by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Various economic sectors have been out of balance. Serious difficulties have been experienced in economic life. The pernicious influence of the ideas of extreme individualism and anarchism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is deep-seated. Great damage has been done to the party's work and its prestige, social moral practices and people's sense of discipline. In addition, certain kinds of ideological and political work and management measures in the process of implementing the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening domestic economic activities have failed to catch up in time. Given the combined effects of these social historical factors, certain negative and disruptive social phenomena are very likely to be revived and grow in the economic and other areas.

The objective fact that serious criminal activities appear in the economic field tells us that in the new historical period of promoting modernization, we must take two measures. The first is to uphold the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening domestic economic activities. The other is to resolutely crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic and other fields. These two measures complement each other, and neither is dispensable. Only by resolutely waging the solemn struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic and other fields can we remove obstacles and interference and ensure the correct implementation of the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening domestic economic activities. And only by firmly and unswervingly carrying out the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and enlivening domestic economic activities can we speed up the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and create conditions for continuously getting rid of all kinds of criminal activities.

## II

Some comrades believe that such activities as corruption, bribery, speculation, deception, smuggling and illegal peddling are in the category of general illegal and criminal activities and are general anti-social acts. The rulers of feudal and capitalist societies in history ably waged struggles against these activities. Therefore, a crackdown on these criminal activities cannot be interpreted as class struggle. Is this a view correct or not? We feel that it is not right to hold this view.

True, such social phenomena as corruption, bribery, speculation, deception, smuggling and illegal trading have not existed only today. They were evident long ago. They were the products of private ownership and the system of exploitation. These phenomena that now still exist in our economic life are, in the final analysis, historical legacies from the old society. In the class society in the past, feudal and bourgeois rulers did wage a struggle against corrupt officials and corrupt practices within a given scope and to a certain extent. The aim was to regulate relations within the ruling class and maintain the interests of the rule of the whole exploiting class and the order of rule. Never would this strike at the foundation of the exploiting system and the exploiting class. Nor was it possible to do so. For example, in the feudal society, there were indeed differences between honest and corrupt officials and contradictions and struggles between them. Marxism has never negated the differences existing between honest and dishonest officials in history and has never negated the positive social significance of the struggle of honest officials against corrupt officials and corrupt practices, or the role that such struggle objectively plays to a certain extent in helping the development of productive forces and social progress. But at the same time Marxism holds that no matter how honest they may appear, so-called honest officials were still political representatives of the exploiting class and still supporters of the exploitation system. Their struggle against corrupt officials is of course not the struggle between classes and is instead in the category of a contradiction or a struggle within the exploiting class. Therefore, this struggle is basically different from the struggle that we wage today to crack down upon serious criminal activities in the economic field or the remnants of this old exploitation system--a struggle to maintain the

socialist system that allows the people to be the masters. The two struggles just cannot be lumped together.

Our socialist society is still in an initial stage of development. In social life and among social members, there inevitably exist various negative and disruptive factors. There exist wrong ideas that run counter to Marxist and socialist principles, and anti-social acts detrimental to social order, social discipline and social interests. There also exist activities of hostile elements designed to disrupt the socialist system. These negative and disruptive factors are all obstacles standing in the way of the progress of our society and the development of social civilization. But they are a different kind, of factor, as far as circumstances and nature are concerned. They should be distinguished in a strict and scientific manner. We can never unanalytically equate all these negative and disruptive factors with class struggle. But we also can never treat the disruptive activities of various hostile elements that really fall into the category of class struggle as general negative phenomena and general anti-social acts.

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has on many occasions clearly pointed out that in the areas of our country where socialist transformation has been completed, after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle will still exist for a long time within a given scope. What does this class struggle within a given scope chiefly mean? Or what is its main content? We believe that its main content is the struggle between the people and various hostile elements. (Needless to say, the so-called main content of course does not mean all its contents; it has other contents. For example, the struggle against the remnants of feudalist thinking left over from the old society, decadent capitalist thinking, and so forth, that continue to have an effect or influence on people of this kind or that, has partaken of the nature of class struggle in some cases to different degrees. But generally speaking, such struggle still falls into the category of contradictions among the people). These hostile elements include counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals that seriously disrupt socialist order, an extremely small number of exploiters of the past that continue to adhere to a reactionary stand and also new exploiters involved in corruption, theft, speculation and profiteering. They carry out various disruptive activities in political, economic, and cultural fields and in social life. The purposes of their activities and their results are detrimental to our socialist system and socialist cause. Their interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the masses of people and socialist interests. Therefore, the struggle of workers, peasants and intellectuals against them is still a kind of class struggle.

Our crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic field means waging a solemn struggle against new exploiters involved in corruption, theft, speculation, profiteering, smuggling and illegal trading. These criminal elements have resorted to various means to expropriate the results of social labor without compensation. These criminal activities not only seriously disrupt our socialist economy and impair the socialist relations of production but also seriously upset social order, corrupt social practices, deprave our party, state and society, and poison the people's spiritual world.

Moreover, their activities are often related to exploiting classes in foreign countries. Therefore, these are by no means general criminal activities and general anti-social acts, but are instead an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic field under the new historical conditions where we open the door to foreign countries and seek to enliven the domestic economy. Such class struggle is not just class struggle left over from the history of our country. It is also, at the same time, a reflection of international class struggle. We must thus soberly realize the nature of the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic field. We must resolutely wage such a struggle and win victory. Only in this way can we in the new historical period, uphold the socialist road and ensure the development of our modernization effort in the correct direction.

### III

Some comrades say that since the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic field is an important manifestation of class struggle in our socialist society in the economic field under new historical conditions, and since such struggle will also continue for a long period, does this not prove that it is still correct to "take class struggle as the key link"? Of course not. There is no objective basis for such worries, or this way of thinking.

Everyone knows that the fundamental meaning of "taking class struggle as the key link" is not to recognize that after the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership system of the means of production and the fundamental elimination of the exploiting class as a class in our country, the main contradictions to be solved in social life have undergone fundamental changes, and not to recognize that the contradiction between the ever-growing needs of the people in their material and cultural life and backward social production has become the main contradiction, and the focus of party and state work must be shifted to socialist economic construction. Instead, it is still held that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the so-called main social contradiction and that class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will always exist in the entire history of socialism. Therefore, all economic and social work must revolve around class struggle as a key link or a center and be made to serve it. Under the guidance of this theory, political movements were continuously launched within the party and in society. As a result, a large host of social contradictions not partaking of the nature of class struggle were handled as the contradictions of class struggle. Many contradictions among the people were treated as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, causing the serious enlargement of class struggle. Things were carried so far that there was a search for the so-called bourgeoisie within the party. The "great cultural revolution" broke out, a so-called "great revolution" of one class overthrowing another, which lasted for as long as 10 years, causing great damage and disaster to the political life of the party and the state, to the interests of the people, and to economic construction and the whole socialist cause. Hard historical facts have amply proved that the theory and act of "taking class struggle as the key link" under socialist conditions run entirely counter to the reality of class struggle in our society, to the objective laws governing the development of socialist society



and to the strong desire of hundreds of millions of people for the building of a modern socialist country.

The 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee resolutely stopped the implementation of the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" and resolutely shifted the focus of party and state work to socialist modernization centering on economic construction. Since the 3rd plenary session, to eliminate the influence of "taking class struggle as the key link" in various fields, the party Central Committee has unified awareness of the reality of class struggle in our society on a scientific and correct basis--awareness on the part of the comrades of the whole party and the people of the entire country. It has done a great deal of effective work regarding both theory and practice. The "decision on certain questions in the history of the party since the founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "After the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle is no longer a main contradiction. Due to domestic factors and international influence class struggle will exist for a long period of time within a given scope and may intensify under certain conditions. We must oppose not only the viewpoint of enlarging class struggle but also the viewpoint that class struggle has died out." This is a fundamental conclusion about class struggle in socialist society reached scientifically by our party on the basis of a profound summing-up of historical experiences and lessons. It is also a fundamental guideline that in the future we must follow in observing and handling problems concerning class struggle.

What we mean by class struggle existing within a given scope is that after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, the kind of class antagonism previously existing between hostile classes within the whole society will disappear. Class struggle that continues to exist in the whole social life is no longer in a dominant position, or is no longer the main contradiction. As mentioned above, such class struggle within a given scope finds expression chiefly as the struggle of the people against hostile elements bent on disrupting the socialist system. It is a far cry from a historical class struggle in a class society. With the system of exploitation eliminated and the socialist system established, these hostile elements have forfeited the kind of economy (reactionary relations of production), politics (a reactionary state regime) and ideology (the reactionary ideology occupying a dominant position in society) and other conditions that the exploiting class as a class in the past relied upon for survival. They could not possibly form into a perfect class. As far as general trends are concerned, with the development of our socialist cause, the scope of their activities will naturally and gradually narrow. Their numbers and their strength will of course be gradually weakened. Therefore, we cannot make light of the objective fact of the existence of such class struggle, let down our guard and give up the necessary struggle. Nor can we freely magnify it and repeat the previous mistake of enlarging class struggle.

The slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" applies only to a class society and the historical period of transition from capitalism or new democracy to socialism. It does not apply to a socialist society where the system of exploitation and the exploiting class have been eliminated. In the future, we must at all times adhere to this fundamental Marxist principle that has

been proved entirely correct in practice. In observing and analyzing criminal activities in the economic field and the disruptive activities of hostile elements in other fields, our party has never deviated from this fundamental principle. Though the criminal activities of these hostile elements have assumed very serious proportions in some areas, they still fall into the category of class struggle within a given scope. Our party and government have taken this very principle as a starting point in putting forth tasks of struggle and in defining steps, methods and policies in struggle. We have also repeatedly stressed the necessity of learning from previous experiences and lessons and have strictly defined the line of distinction between class struggle and large hosts of social contradictions that do not fall into the category of class struggle and the line of distinction between the contradictions between the enemies and ourselves on the one hand and contradictions among the people on the other. We have stressed the need not to launch a mass movement in the course of struggle and have also stressed the need to act strictly according to legal and judicial procedures in cracking down on and handling criminal elements who have seriously disrupted the economy. Meanwhile, we have conducted this class struggle in a correct and effective manner. The aim is to eliminate interference and obstacles in a timely manner and ensure the smooth progress of socialist modernization as the central task of the party and the country. Therefore, this is fundamentally different from the theory and practice of "taking class struggle as the key link."

#### IV

Some comrades also say that since, in our country, the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class, why is it that class struggle will still exist in the economic and other fields within a given scope for a long time to come and will likely intensify under certain conditions?

Let us discuss and analyze this problem as follows:

Marxism holds that socialism calls for eliminating classes and paving the way for the ultimate transition to a proletarian communist society. The elimination of classes means not only eliminating the exploitation system and the exploiting class but also eliminating all class differences, or any phenomenon of society being divided into classes and social strata. In our country, the elimination of the exploitation system and the exploiting classes and thus the elimination of class struggle between the exploiters and those subjected to exploitation as members of hostile classes undoubtedly represents a major step forward of decisive significance, as far as the historical task of realizing the elimination of such social phenomenon as class struggle in our social life is concerned. But this in no way means that the historical task has been completed. Though the exploitation system and the exploiting class have been eliminated, various hostile elements related to them, who seek to disrupt the economic, political and cultural activities of the socialist system, have yet to be wiped out. Therefore, the peculiar kind of class struggle centering on the people's struggle against these hostile elements under socialist conditions will continue to exist in our social life. This point has been stressed by us above. In our country, from the elimination of the exploiting class to the elimination of all class differences, it is a fairly long historical process. From the elimination of the exploiting class to the elimination of all hostile elements who discriminate against and disrupt socialism, it is also quite a fairly long historical process. This is

to say that from the elimination of class struggle between hostile classes to the complete elimination of all phenomena of class struggle under socialist conditions (including such phenomena as struggle between the people and hostile elements and other struggles of a class nature), it is by no means an achievement that can be realized in a short period of time. Why? In sum, this because, as the most advanced social form in history--the first stage of the communist form of society--our socialism has only just broken away from the old society and is not based on an adequately developed and mature society. Concretely speaking, this is determined by the following domestic and international social historical factors.

First, the poison of the exploitation system and the exploiting classes in history that has remained in socioeconomic, political and cultural fields and especially in the field of ideological awareness cannot be eliminated in one stroke. In our society, Marxist and socialist awareness has occupied a dominant position and is becoming the guiding ideology for more and more commune members. Decadent feudalist and capitalist ideas have been stripped of the class that serves to consolidate and support them and have become remnants of ideology, which are being continuously criticized and attacked by socialist ideology. But the substance on which their existence is based and their social foundation have still not been completely removed. Combined with the remnant poison of the exploitation system and the exploiting class in other fields, they will continue to have an effect or influence on various aspects of our social life for a long time to come. Influenced by such remnant poison, some commune members may degenerate and lapse into anti-socialist acts. Moreover, our motherland has still not accomplished the great cause of finally unifying the country. In a part of the territory, the exploitation system has still not been eliminated. The groups hostile to socialism there have stopped at nothing to corrupt the thinking of the people on our mainland. They have at the same time resorted to various means, including the establishment of espionage agencies and the cultivation and wooing of hostile elements, to carry out disruptive activities of all kinds against our socialist enterprise.

Second, on the international scene, imperialism and hegemonism still exist. So do the exploitation system and the exploiting class. For a long time to come we will carry out socialist modernization under such international conditions. In developing the socialist cause, we cannot keep to ourselves and must be oriented to the world, upholding the open-door policy and promoting extensive economic, cultural, scientific and technical exchanges and cooperation with all countries, including many capitalist ones. In the process of these proper exchanges, some people will inevitably act in collusion with certain illegal elements in our society and seize the opportunity to carry out smuggling activities against us in the economic and cultural fields. They will subject our social life and social members to infiltration and corruption in the political and ideological fields and in our way of life. Some hostile foreign forces will also inevitably avail themselves of the opportunity to carry out disruptive activities against our socialist system. In sum, the influence of the capitalist world and the hostile foreign forces' sabotage against our country represent important objective conditions that make it difficult to eliminate in a short period of time the vestiges of the exploitation system and the activities of hostile elements inherent in our society.

Third, our socialist system is still very young. Though it has initially and effectively demonstrated its great superiority and vitality and has chalked up many great achievements impossible of being attained in old China, the level of development of social productive forces is after all relatively low. Social economy and culture are after all relatively backward. Socialist means of production and the superstructure are still unsound and imperfect in many respects. Therefore, it is inconceivable that in a short period of time, we could create labor productivity and social material wealth at levels comparable to those of developed capitalist countries and fully satisfy the material and cultural needs of all social members. In these circumstances, it is very difficult to prevent certain irresolute elements in society and within the party from developing negative feelings and from being so affected by the propaganda and influence of the capitalist world that they become captives of capitalism and even embark on the road of serving their own ends at the expense of the public and opposing socialism. There are still many drawbacks and weak links in our management system in the economic, political and cultural fields. These drawbacks and weak links can, under given conditions, become loopholes that various hostile elements count upon for their growth and their activity. This is to say that our socialist system is far from being so mature and perfect that some social members can be completely prevented from degeneration and various hostile elements can be completely prevented from emerging. Our system still lacks economic, political and social conditions. To make our system fully mature and perfect and make it reach such a stage and live up to the necessary conditions still involves a fairly long period of struggle.

On the very basis of a scientific analysis of the above national and international factors, the party Central Committee has reached a correct conclusion that class struggle will continue to exist in our society for a long time to come. So long as class struggle in social life still has not finally disappeared, we cannot relax our vigilance, weaken the dictatorial functions of the country of the people's democratic dictatorship, or give up the Marxist class viewpoint and methods of analysis. If under conditions where class struggles still exist, we should use the viewpoint of so-called abstract "people" to observe and handle social phenomena in a departure from the social and class nature of people, this would be very dangerous, and we would inevitably make historical mistakes.

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## NEW QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE CROPPED UP IN GRAIN PRODUCTION IN SUZHOU PREFECTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 31-34

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[Text] Editor's Note: This investigation report was written by several students of the seventh and eighth grades of the agricultural economics department, People's University of China, on a field survey they made in Suzhou Prefecture. The report highlighted several viewpoints on questions of grain production and diversified operations in Suzhou Prefecture. The viewpoints are worth studying by the relevant departments.

Suzhou Prefecture comprises 8 counties and 222 people's communes. It has a total population of 6.55 million people, of which 3.38 million are peasants, and 6.61 million mu of cultivated land. The prefecture is bounded on the north by the Changjiang River and on the south by Lake Taihu. The land is fertile while sunlight, heating and water resources are plentiful. It is one of the principal rice producing areas in the country. Since the middle period of the 1960's, following the promotion of the triple-cropping system (wheat and 2 crops of rice) and the use of chemical fertilizer, it has achieved an enormous development in grain production. During the 1970's, its average annual contribution of commercial grain to the state was 2.35 billion jin. In particular, in 1979, the prefecture produced 8.25 billion jin of grain and contributed 2.51 billion jin of commercial grain to the state. Although the cultivated land of the prefecture is only about 9 percent of the total cultivated land of the provinces, its grain output was 17 percent of that of the province and the state purchases of grain from the prefecture constituted 21 percent of those from the whole province. Thus, in the readjustment of the agricultural production structure, how to maintain this prefecture's good standing in grain production and how to make it contribute more to the state, is an important problem.

From the following tables, we can see the great changes in the agricultural production structure of Suzhou Prefecture in recent years:

Table 1. Composition of Sown Area of Major Crops  
Unit: 10,000 Mu

Year	Total sown area	Grain		Economic crops		Green manure		Others	
		Sown area	% of total	Sown area	% of total	Sown area	% of total	Sown area	% of total
1976	1,679	1,338	79.7	147	8.8	176	10.5	18	1
1981	1,521	1,178	77.4	191	12.6	107	7	45	3
1981 compared with 1976	-158	-160		+44		-6.9		+27	

Table 2. Composition of Output Value: Agriculture, Forestry,  
Animal Husbandry, Sideline Production and Fisheries  
Unit: billion yuan

Year	Total output value		Agriculture (percent)	Forestry (percent)	of which		
	Amount	Percent			Animal Husbandry (percent)	Sideline Production (percent)	Fisheries (percent)
1976	18.19	100	61.8	0.4	12.86	22.6	2.34
1981	32.14	100	31.6	0.3	9.3	56	2.8

Table 3. Composition of Income of Communes, Production Brigades  
and Production Teams  
Unit: billion yuan

Year	Gross Income (All 3 levels)		Communes (percent)	of which	
	Amount	Percent		Production Brigades (percent)	Production Teams (percent)
1976	23.17	100	24.5	18.42	57.08
1981	55.94	100	44.0	31.3	24.7

The changes in the agricultural production structure of Suzhou Prefecture have the following basic special features:

(1) A gradual reduction in the relative weight of the plantation industry. In 1976, the output value of the plantation industry of the prefecture was 61.8 percent of the gross output value of agriculture. In 1981, it dropped to only 31.6 percent and was 50 percent lower than the national average level.

(2) Rapid development in industrial and sideline production (mainly in the communes, brigades and production teams). This has given rise to joint agricultural-industrial-sideline operations and industry and sideline production supporting agriculture. In 1980, the gross receipts from agriculture, industry and sideline production of Suzhou Prefecture amounted to 5.098 billion yuan, of which agriculture occupied 19.61 percent; sideline production, 13.24 percent; and industry, 67.15 percent. Although industry and sideline production accounted for but 32 percent of the total labor power consumed by all three branches, their output value amounted to 70 percent of the total; whereas the plantation trade consumed 68 percent of the total labor power and its output value was but 23.1 percent of the total. During that year, in the entire prefecture, average per capita income amounted to 164.79 yuan, of which 74.29 yuan, or 45.1 percent, was derived from industry, 41.09 yuan, or 24.9 percent, from sideline production, and 49.36 yuan, or only 30 percent, from agriculture. Over the last 2 years, due to grain output being reduced by 2.5 billion jin, the net receipts were reduced by 375 million yuan. Nevertheless, as a result of the rapid development of industry and sideline production, the income of the commune members not only did not decrease but actually increased steadily. In 1981, the average income of the peasants was 175.5 yuan per person, an increase of 19.4 yuan over 1980. The rapid growth of industry in the communes, production brigades and production brigades and production teams has provided plentiful funds for the development of agricultural production. According to statistics compiled by the bureau of statistics of the prefecture, during the 4 years from 1977 to 1980, the funds provided by the industries of the communes, production brigades and production teams of the prefecture to agriculture amounted to 415 million yuan, of which the amount provided in 1980 alone was some 104 million yuan. This was 120 percent more than the state's investment in agriculture in the prefecture. In addition, the industries provided agriculture with a large quantity of material resources and took up the burden of producing, for the prefecture, medium-size and small farm tools as well as equipment for water conservancy projects. Also, a large force of agricultural technical personnel was trained. All this clearly has helped in promoting the development of agricultural production and modernization.

(3) Animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry have also achieved development to varying degrees. Suzhou Prefecture is located between Shanghai and Nanjing. In order to cater to the growing needs of the urban areas for animal husbandry products and fishery products, both of these trades have enjoyed relatively great development there in recent years. In 1981, compared with 1976, the population of pigs increased by 510,000 head, the number of pigs taken out of the farms increased by 1 million head and the rate of pigs leaving the farms was raised by 37 percent. As for fishery products, the volume of output increased by 7,613 tons, or 14.6 percent. At the same time, the number of



herbivorous animals such as rabbits and sheep, reared on the farms likewise showed a steady increase. Forestry occupies a relatively minor position in the prefecture but, compared with 1976, a large increase was seen in the number of mulberry trees, tea plants, fruit trees and wooded forests.

Seen from the above and looking at the prefecture alone, the evolution in the agricultural production structure of Suzhou Prefecture has been comparatively rational. The major manifestations of this are: Industry and sideline production are closely joined together with agriculture; while forestry, animal husbandry and fisheries have attained a certain development, and the growth of industry and sideline production has been faster. The rural economy is steadily shifting from the traditional single-line or unitary operation to agriculture, industry and sideline production joining hands in comprehensive operation. This evolution is an indication of enhancement in the level of economic development.

However, new conditions and new questions have cropped up in the course of readjusting the agricultural production structure of the prefecture:

(1) A steep rise in the sown area of economic crops and a drastic decrease in the sown area and output volume of grain crops. In 1981, compared with 1976, the sown area of economic crops increased from 1.47 million mu to 1.97 million mu, an increase of 30 percent, whereas the sown area of grain dropped from 13.38 million mu to 11.78 million mu, a decrease of 12 percent. The area for double-cropping rice dropped from 4 million mu to 2.04 million mu, a drop of 49 percent. The ratio occupied by the triple-cropping system dropped from 85.9 percent to 46 percent. Grain output dropped from 7.4 billion jin to 5.7 billion jin, a decrease of 1.7 billion jin. Compared with 1979, the drop in grain output was 2.5 billion jin, which was equivalent to 44 percent of the 1981 grain output. In 1976, the net outward transfer of grain from the prefecture amounted to 1.951 billion jin, but in 1981 the transfer has less than 700 million jin, a decrease of 1.3 billion jin.

(2) Increased use of chemical fertilizer, reduction of areas using green manure and a reduction in the fertility of the soil. According to the demand of the laws governing agricultural production, the prefecture should reduce the area for summer grain, stabilize the area for double-cropping rice, and increase the area using green manure. This will not only stabilize grain production but also raise the fertility of the soil and create conditions for a sustained high stable yield. However, in an effort to divert the flow of labor power to industry and sideline production, both of which are highly remunerative, and to avoid the seasonal shortage and acuteness in labor supply due to the double-cropping rice planting system, the prefecture resorted to the measure of reducing the scale of the two-season rice planting. In 1981, compared with 1976, the sown area for early rice decreased by 1.97 million mu. At the same time, because the application of chemical fertilizer requires less labor but produces quick results, the use of chemical fertilizer has steadily increased through the years. In 1981 compared with 1976, the per mu application of chemical fertilizer increased from 99.7 jin to 270 jin, an increase of 170 percent, while the area used green manure dropped from 1.76 million mu to 1.07 million mu, a drop of 39 percent. The reduction in the use of organic fertilizer, plus the increased use of chemical fertilizer,

caused steady deterioration in the permeability of the soil and also in its physical chemistry. The mu output of grain dropped from 1,287 jin in 1976 to 1,019 jin in 1981, a drop of 20.8 percent. Consequently, the continuous increase in the use of chemical fertilizer and the increase in other production expenses have raised the cost of production of grain to a great extent. This has rendered the economic effect of grain production much lower than that of industry and sideline production. It has diverted people's attention to industry and to sideline production.

(3) The tendency of peasants leaving agriculture is becoming daily more serious; the principal labor power is not interested in agriculture; cadres of communes, production brigades and production teams are devoting their energy mainly to grasping industry and sideline production; scientific and technical work in agriculture is unable to develop well. In 1981, in Suzhou Prefecture the average output value created by each agricultural worker was 435 yuan but the output value increased by each worker in industry and sideline production amounted to 4,215 yuan. Of the 3.38 million full-time and part-time workers in the prefecture, two-thirds worked in the agricultural sector, but of these, the portion who had any cultural or educational training was very small. By far the greater majority of the young people who had some educational training preferred to take up industry or sideline production for a living. In our investigation in Jiangyang County and Wujiang County, we found that not only were those engaged in the farms mostly old and weak people and women or children, but also in the work-time arrangements the "3-shift" system in industry was more attractive than the long farming hours from early morning to dusk. Grain production appeared to have become a sideline production of agriculture. As a result of the major portion of the manpower, material resources and financial power being shifted to industry and sideline production and the industrial units of the communes, brigades and teams contending with big industry for raw materials and fuels and serious contamination of the environment, grain production has been greatly affected.

For 2 years in succession in 1980 and 1981, the prefecture suffered a decrease in grain production. As a result, the grain ration of the commune members was reduced and feed grain for animals was likewise reduced. The latter naturally affected the development of animal husbandry. In 1981, the population of pigs dropped to 6.62 million head from 8.31 million head in 1979, a drop of 20 percent. The number of pigs taken out from the pig farms dropped by 480,000 head, a decrease of 13 percent. This also affected grain production to a certain extent.

The causes for the decrease in grain production were many. The principal ones were the following:

(1) For 2 years in succession in 1980 and 1981, the prefecture suffered from a disastrous weather and from typhoons, low temperature and early frost. The single-season rice crop sown over a vast area resulted in a poor harvest, much lower than that of early rice. This caused a serious decline in rice production. Fortunately, a small number of communes, such as the Tao Yuan people's commune and others, insisted on carrying out the slogan of so-called "the 3 water products promoting the 3-raisings; the 3-raisings promoting the triple-cropping and triple-cropping reaping a bountiful harvest." (The 3 water

products refer to the water peanut, water gourd and drifting water duckweed; the 3-raising refers to hog-raising, sheep-raising and rabbit-raising). As a result, over the past years the extent of their decrease in production was rather limited and, actually, in 1981, they accomplished the feat of reaping a bountiful harvest, with grain production surpassing that in 1980.

(2) Following the changeover from the triple-cropping system to the double-cropping system, the double-crop of rice should each show an increased output. But due to the neglect, for a long time in the past, of the study and raising of high-yield rice strains, high-yield seeds were lacking for the single-cropping of rice and this naturally restricted the rice output.

(3) In recent years, divergent views have been held in the discussions on the question of the triple-cropping system. One view held that, seen from the angle of helping the soil to recuperate and to regain its vitality, the triple-cropping system should be restricted. Another view argued that from the angle of procuring more income receipts and of avoiding too great a strain on the labor supply, grain production should be restricted. Still other views referred to the proportionate relationship of the triple-cropping system in Suzhou Prefecture and argued that net income should be the sole target. All these views precisely coincided with the mentality of a portion of the communes, brigades and teams who were afraid of incurring losses or deficits and were not too willing to invest in grain production or plant too much grain. Some of the communes, brigades and teams were mainly interested in industry and in sideline production because of their larger output value and greater profitability. They preferred to plant economic crops such as cotton, edible oils, hemp, tobacco and so forth although these may not have all been suitable to local conditions. This adversely affected grain output.

In order to quickly overcome the situation of the drastic fall in grain production, we wish to make the following recommendations:

(1) Definitely fixing the grain production task and state purchase commitments of the commercial grain base areas. At present, our country has been yearly importing a certain quantity of grain. This is for the purpose of readjusting the agricultural structure and is therefore necessary. But due to our limited amount of foreign exchange and the limitations in transport capacity, it is not possible to increase the importation of grain. Therefore, our national policy should be to build up domestic production, construct pivotal commercial grain centers and thus ensure grain supply. In the readjustment of the agricultural structure, an important commercial grain producing center like Suzhou Prefecture should take stability in grain production as a logical premise, should have regard for the situation as a whole, tightly grasp grain production and thus make more contributions to the state. Concerning grain production, it should not only make known to its constituents the gross projected output and the commitment for state purchases, but also strengthen its planned guidance over the size of the sown areas. In view of the divergent forms of the production responsibility system in practice among the communes, brigades and teams at present, concrete plans and measures for grain production should be formulated and implemented. As for those communes,

brigades and teams which are carrying out the system of assigning responsibilities to each laborer and linking remuneration to output or the system of assigning the households full responsibility for task completion, because the relationship between the households of the commune members and the production teams are rather loose, the production team should send the grain production plan to each and every household and should resort as much as possible to establishing formal contractual relationships between the parties concerned in order to ensure the realization of the grain production plan.

(2) In view of the weak financial position of the country, it will not be possible for a certain period to stimulate grain production by means of such measures as greatly raising the price for state grain purchases, or to lower the basic figure for grain purchases, or to expand the scope of excess-quota purchases. Hence, we should approve and actively encourage the use of the profits from industry and sideline production to subsidize grain production. Agriculture, industry and sideline production are the three different production departments of the collective economic organs of the rural villages. Between them there exists a close organic relationship. The reallocation of profits between the three departments is a manifestation of the superior character of a collective economy. The questions of labor power, investment of funds and economic benefits of the three departments of agriculture, industry and sideline production should not be treated in an isolated way. It is entirely necessary for the communes, brigades and teams to use, for grain production, a portion of the state's subsidies to agriculture, in the form of cheaper prices for industrial products (such as special prices for electricity and diesel oil for farm use). It is also entirely correct to use a portion of the profits from industry and sideline production to subsidize agriculture. Neither of the above should be criticized. As for the question of the peasants' unwillingness to plant grain and their willingness to expand the production of the economic crops because of the irrational price differential between the economic crops and grain, it can conceivably be regulated by means of the economic lever of credits and loans.

(3) We should strengthen scientific research and promotion of technical work in agriculture and develop scientific farming activities of a mass nature. We should speedily introduce or breed and cultivate superior strains of single-cropping or double-cropping rice which are suitable for local conditions and possess the good features of high and stable yield. We should reinforce our weather forecasting work and make it cover the whole year. We should make good use of the superior qualities of the rice strains to overcome the adverse effect on production of unfavorable weather conditions. We should foster the experiences of using farmyard manure, planting and cultivating green manure, and restoring soil vitality. We should promote the experience of the "3 water products promoting the 3-raisings, the 3-raisings promoting triple-cropping, and triple-cropping reaping a bountiful harvest," and establish a good farmland ecosystem which is characterized by a sustained high and stable yield. We must, by various means, raise the cultural level of the farmers and popularize scientific farming.

Additionally, we should pay attention to the rational distribution of energy resources and the rational use and disposition of the different kinds of chemical fertilizer. As for the communes, brigades and teams characterized

by the symptom of using much chemical fertilizer but achieving little actual results in grain production, we should break the locality barrier and transfer their stocks of chemical fertilizer to those localities which have a low grain production level but can derive greater benefits from the application of chemical fertilizer on their soil. This tallies with the principle of making the best use of everything.

The new problems concerning grain production which have cropped up in the Suzhou Prefecture in the readjustment of its agricultural structure may also arise in other localities. They may even have already appeared there. They deserve to be paid close attention to by agricultural leadership departments in various localities.

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## PAYING SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DIALECTICS IN ECONOMIC RESEARCH WORK

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[Short commentary]

[Text] An important method of further deepening the study of economic theory and achieving good results is to pay special attention to dialectics in economic research work on the basis of mastering the basic theoretical viewpoints, integrating them with practice and digesting them all.

The socialist economy is founded on the basis of socialized mass production. One of its characteristics is that the various departments, enterprises and links rely on each other, are closely related, and are in the midst of continually developing changes. Both the close ties and the unceasing movement are different from the natural economy and the petty peasant economy in the past. In the past, both the natural economy and the petty peasant economy were also related but the ties were very loose. They were also moving but the movement was rather slow. As for the modern economy, the ties are countless and rather haphazard. Modern economic movement is always changing and is different with each passing day. This characteristic of the modern economy requires us to study economic problems. In guiding economic work, one must have a material dialectical scientific mind, and must be on guard against subjectivism and metaphysics. Engels pointed out: "Dialectics, while investigating matters and their reflection in the mind is, in essence, making investigations from their ties, their jointed links, their movement, their production and their disappearance." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 222) It is quite obvious that only by observing problems in such a way can our understanding meet with the objective process of economic development.

A socialist economy is a planned economy. The party and the state can conscientiously make use of objective laws to guide economic work so that it will develop harmoniously and proportionately. However, the process of development is filled with conflicts and the dialectic relations of the unity of opposites, such as those between productive forces and productive relation, accumulation and consumption, planning and freedom, concentration and dispersion, quantity and quality, speed and effect and so on and so forth. All these are contradictory relations which often occur in economic work. It is the continuous recognition and solution of these

conflicts that pushes our economic work forward. We should often conscientiously study the movement of conflicts in the economic realm and study the dialectic relationships of the unity of opposites of the various conflicts. Only by doing so can one correctly stipulate and implement principles and policies and give sound guidance in work so as to avoid one-sidedness.

Marxist economic theory and the party's economic principles and policies, in the final analysis, reflect and summarize the dialectic relations of objective matters in the economic realm. "Das Kapital" by Marx begins with the analysis of the internal conflicts between commodities and the exchange of commodities. The thread analyzing the movement of conflicts from beginning to end in the developing process of capitalism goes through his entire works. From Comrade Mao Zedong's works such as "On Ten Major Relations" and Comrade Chen Yun's works on the economy, such a thread, which analyzes the movement of conflicts in the economic realm and is good at grasping the dialectical relations between the two sides of a conflict, is evident. These works still have their theoretical power despite their being published a long time ago. This is because they have the scientific way of thinking--materialist dialectics--as their guidance and soul. We should not just earnestly study the dialectics in the classical Marxist works, but should also be good at studying the dialectics of economic works. In this way, we can widen our horizon and have a deeper understanding, so as to better understand and master the theory and the laws of the economy.

For 30 years, our economic work has acquired many successful experiences. We have also learned quite a few lessons from our faults. Both the positive and the negative experiences and the lessons indicate that respecting materialism and dialectics, and avoiding subjectivism and metaphysics are important conditions guaranteeing the smooth development of socialist construction. Disrespect of materialism and dialectics will surely be punished. A cadre, especially a leading cadre, cannot do well in economic work if he does not master and employ materialist dialectics, and does not study the complex dialectic relations of the multitude of things in the economic realm.

At present, some places and units are now organizing the cadres to study philosophy. Whether it is the study of economic theory or philosophy, the study of the movement of conflicts in the economic realm and the dialectics in economic work should be encouraged. We hope that those comrades, who take part in the study, especially those engaging in economic work should make a timely summary of the fruits of their studies and write articles that have raw material and analysis.

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CORRECTLY HANDLE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PART AND THE WHOLE IN ECONOMIC WORK

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[Article by Wu Kaitai [0702 0418 3141], Lu Baifu [7120 4102 3940] and Gu Xuerong [7357 1331 2837]]

[Text] A problem that is often met in socialist economic construction is how to correctly handle the relationship between the part and the whole. In economic life, the relationship between the part and the whole is mainly shown in the interrelationship between local and central authorities, between enterprises and the state, and between the interests of part of the members of society and the interests of the whole people. The socialist economy is based on the public ownership system and the system of ownership by the whole people is in a dominant position. The state represents society and manages the whole national economy and by proceeding from the interests of the whole, it also regulates the economic activities of the whole society. The whole represents the common and basic interests of the various parts while a harmonious whole provides the conditions for the various parts to develop smoothly. On the other hand, the part is an organic part of the whole and the whole national economy develops through the development of the various parts. To give consideration to partial interests and fully mobilize the initiative of the various parts is the foundation for a vigorous development of the whole. Therefore it can be seen that the basic interests of the whole are identical with the basic interests of the part and there is no antagonistic contradiction between them.

But there exist contradictions between the part and the whole. During the socialist stage, there exist two kinds of public ownership system, there exist commodity production and commodity exchange and individual consumer products still have to be distributed according to labor. Various regions, departments and enterprises have relatively independent economic interests. In most cases, the economic activities that are indulged in by the various parts for their own relatively independent economic interests are identical with the interests of the whole; but some activities are not in line with or even damage the interests of the whole. This situation represents the contradiction between long-term interests and intermediate interests and between the interests of the part and the interests of the whole. This contradiction is a contradiction among the people with identical basic interests but it will hinder the smooth development of the national economy if we fail to correctly handle it.

The correct principle for correctly handling the relations between the part and the whole in economic work is overall consideration. That is to say, on the one hand, the part must obey the whole with the whole as the key. Various regions and enterprises must in no way purely seek their own partial interests, nor must they put partial interests above overall interests. On the contrary, they must take the whole country into account and actively make their contributions in realizing the interests of the whole. In particular, when partial interests come into conflict with overall interests, they must adhere to the principle of the part obeying the whole and take the interests of the whole into account. On the other hand, the whole must also give consideration to the part. Under the common goal of realizing the overall interests of the country, it is imperative to consider the interests of various regions and enterprises so as to promote the development of their economy.

In our economic construction, there appeared a tendency of one-sidedly stressing the importance of overall interests and neglecting partial interests and a tendency of giving consideration to partial interests and neglecting overall interests. The reasons for these tendencies stemmed from the economic management system and cadres' ideology and understanding. Excessive centralization of the economic management system can easily give rise to a shortcoming of neglecting partial interests while decentralization of what should be centralized can easily give rise to the situation in which no consideration is given to the whole. From the viewpoint of understanding, some cadres consider things from different angles and say different things because of their different positions and consequently they cannot correctly handle the relations between the part and the whole. Therefore in truly following the principle of taking the whole situation into account it is imperative to pay attention to improving the economic management system as well as improving the level of cadres' ideology and understanding.

Excessive centralization of the economic management system and the situation in which local localities and enterprises do not have relative autonomy will eventually affect the initiative of localities and enterprises and is not in the interests of the development of the national economy. Since the convening of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and government have implemented the principle of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading, implemented the policy of enlivening economic activities, paid attention to partial economic interests, delegated more financial power and flexibility to the localities and expanded the autonomy of enterprises, and to a certain degree, all these measures have changed the situation in which enterprises are rigidly controlled. At the same time, various forms of production responsibility system have been introduced in rural areas while the autonomy of production teams has been expanded. These measures have played a tremendous role in mobilizing the initiative of localities, enterprises and laborers as well as in developing the national economy.

But during the reform of the economic system over the past few years, some related measures were not complete and some comrades lacked the understanding and method of how to correctly handle the relations between the part and the whole. Therefore the tendency of departmentalism and separatism in economic

work that only considers partial interests and neglects the overall interests of the country has grown. For example, in agricultural production, some places did not follow the requirement of state planning and instead they decreased at will the acreage for the production of grain crops and expanded the acreage for the production of industrial crops; in production construction, some regions and enterprises did not follow the unified state planning and blindly carried out production and construction in their bid to increase local financial revenues or get more retention of profits; in distribution of financial power, some enterprises decreased at will the basic profit from assigning production quotas and the basic profit retention, increased profit retention and provided awards at will while in the sector of circulation, some regions blockaded each other in economic matters, interfered with and divided the socialist unified market, arbitrarily lowered the quotas for state purchase and purchase by assignment of agricultural products and arbitrarily expanded the amount of goods purchased in excess of the quota at negotiated prices. These problems are not major problems, but if we do not pay enough attention to and resolve these problems in due time, they will eventually affect the readjustment of the national economy, the healthy development of the reform of the economic system and the improvement of economic effects and cause unfavorable results economically and politically.

In order to handle well the relations between the part and the whole it is necessary to take measures both in understanding and policy and to solve the following problems.

First, handle well the relations between mobilizing the initiative of localities and enterprises and persisting in the planned economy. In order to overcome the shortcoming of rigid control, we have over the past few years expanded the autonomy and interests of localities and enterprises and as a result, the initiative of the various parts has been mobilized. This measure is absolutely correct. But we cannot consequently think that when the initiative of the various parts has been mobilized, the whole national economy will be able to develop harmoniously. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out in 1957: it is totally necessary to expand the autonomy of localities, but we must also step up the work of balancing the whole country because economic units are dispersed and without overall balance, the economy is not a planned economy. In the past if the various departments of the central authorities neglected the localities and when autonomy is handed to localities, there may be a tendency for these departments to neglect the overall situation. Therefore it is imperative to properly decentralize autonomy and at the same to strengthen centralization. Following decentralization of autonomy, balancing work must in no way be weakened; on the contrary, it must be stepped up. These words of Comrade Chen Yun are still of great significance for us today in correctly handling the relations between the part and the whole. When we are carrying out the open-door policy and enlivening domestic economic activities, we must spare no effort to improve planning work and strengthen planned management. On the one hand, it is not necessary to carry out rigid control. That is to say, we must be good at consciously making use of the law of value and displaying the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. On the other hand, we must strengthen strictness of planning and persist in the principle of taking the whole country into account. Any important product and any major construction project that is related with the

national economy and people's livelihood must be included in unified planning and must be unifiedly balanced by the state. The investments in capital construction and projects that require important technical measures must be put under the guidance of state planning and the situation of carrying out blind construction and duplicate construction must be resolutely stopped. Localities and enterprises must strictly follow the related planning and fulfill the production tasks and the tasks of transferring the industrial and agricultural products that are included in state planning; they are not permitted to blindly turn out such products and to retain at will for their own use or sell at negotiated prices the goods and materials that are in short supply. The system of planned economy and tax must be strictly followed, the price and tax of the products that are under state management must be put under the unified control of the state while localities, departments and enterprises are not permitted to change them at will. It is only under the premise of persisting in the planned economy and the principle of taking the whole country into account that we are able to correctly handle the relationship between the part and the whole, display still better the initiative of the various parts and combine these two aspects properly.

Second, correctly handle the relationship between displaying the advantages of the part and improving the economic effects of the whole. The expansion of the autonomy of localities and enterprises and the auxiliary role of regulation by market mechanism have mobilized the initiative of various aspects and have enabled many places and enterprises to fully display their economic advantages. Taken as a whole, this situation is good. The question is that there often exists a contradiction between displaying the advantages of localities and enterprises and improving the economic effects of the whole. From the viewpoint of the part, some production and construction undertakings may be feasible and beneficial but from the viewpoint of the whole they may not be totally rational or they may even be harmful. For example, some places have disregarded the whole, blindly carried out duplicate construction, retained the raw materials that are produced locally for their own use and cut down and even suspended the traditional supply among regions and as a result, the productivity of the existing advanced enterprises has become idle. In fact, such activities are not moves for displaying advantages and overcoming shortcomings. We uphold that the advantages of the part must be fully displayed but before we are able to do so, we must be able to correctly judge what are the real advantages of regions, departments and enterprises. In addition, we must be able to comprehensively analyze the advantageous and disadvantageous conditions of various aspects. In particular, we must be able to proceed from the position of the whole and select the correct orientation and method for displaying advantages. If we one-sidedly stress the importance of the advantageous conditions of certain aspects of the part and neglect or even damage the overall economic interests, such advantages of the part are undesirable.

Under the present situation in which the economic system, economic structure and price system are far from rational, it is imperative in displaying the advantages of the part and improving the economic effects of the whole to fully display the role of economic means and to step up the necessary administrative intervention. In order to overcome the situation of blind production and construction, it is imperative to proceed from the overall situation and

to readjust the enterprises with high consumption, low quality, bad management and low economic returns through closing down, suspending, merging and shifting to other modes of production. At the same time, under the principle of coordination among specialized departments and economic rationality, it is necessary to develop in a big way the various forms of union and carry out technical cooperation and economic union between the processing industry and producers of raw materials, between advanced regions and backward regions and between state-owned enterprises and collective enterprises.

Third, correctly handle the relations of distribution between the state and the localities, and between enterprises and individuals. Various aspects will be able to display their initiative only when we are able to handle well the relations of distribution and give consideration to the interests of various aspects. At present, it is imperative to handle well the relations of the following aspects. First of all is the relationship of the distribution of financial revenues and expenditures between the central authorities and localities. It is necessary to stress that the revenues of central finance must grow stably and under this condition it is necessary to increase the financial revenues of localities. As the central authorities got less in the distribution of financial power over the past 2 years, it is necessary to take measures to appropriately increase the financial power of the central authorities. At the same time, it is necessary to stress the importance of tightening up financial discipline and blocking any financial leaks so as to guarantee that state finance will get its due revenues. Second, rationally define the level of retention for enterprises. The financial autonomy of enterprises can only be expanded under the premise that the needs of state finance are guaranteed. In the process of introducing the economic responsibility system in industrial enterprises, the basic amount of profit quotas that are assigned to enterprises cannot be set too low. The growth of the profits of enterprises must be distributed according to the principle that the state gets more and enterprises get less. That is to say, a certain proportion of the profits is retained for the enterprises according to the results of their business while most of the profits are handed over to the state. Third, stabilize the purchasing price of agricultural and sideline products. The basic amount for the state purchase and purchase by assignment of agricultural and sideline products must be rationally defined while increased prices for purchases in excess of the quota at negotiated prices and various other subsidies must be transformed and put under control. Fourth, issue of awards must be strictly controlled while the sources, amount and conditions for issuing awards must also be put under planned control. The mistakes of giving awards and subsidies at will must be resolutely corrected while egalitarianism in awarding must be overcome.

Fourth, do away with regional economic blockades and persist in unifying the socialist market. To divide the market, restrict people's activity to a designated area, protect the backward and oppose the advanced represent a backward and short-sighted policy. Such an administrative method for protecting the backward is very harmful to the development of the whole economy. Outwardly, such a method appears to be in the interests of the regions concerned; but it is not in the interests of either the technology or the economy of the regions themselves. In order to correct this wrong method, the State Council has made the following decision recently: enterprises and supply and

marketing departments have the right to selectively purchase various industrial products from other regions and departments within the sphere of the limit of state planning and no regions, departments or individuals are permitted to limit or hinder such activities; all the products that are up to the national standard may be sold across the country and they are entitled to receive orders from any part of the country without interference from any region or department. In minority nationality regions and economically backward regions, no control must be imposed on the sales of products in the regions other than the daily consumer goods for which the regions are self-sufficient and light industrial products. These two aspects will be able to develop rationally only when we are able to handle well the relationship between the part and the whole in the sector of circulation.

In the matter of economic relations with foreign countries, it is necessary to correctly handle the relations between expanding the autonomy foreign trade of various regions, departments and enterprises, and persisting in a unified policy for foreign countries. In carrying out economic activities with foreign countries it is necessary to properly expand the autonomy of regions, departments and enterprises but at the same time, measures must be taken to solve the problem of unifiedly selling products of the same kind to other countries. We must take export ports as the center, organize export joint ventures, strengthen coordination and management and overcome such wrong tendencies as self-contained systems, each department carrying out its own foreign trade activities, competitive price cutting and striving against one another.

The relationship between the part and the whole in economic work involves different problems at different times. The most outstanding problem at present is the tendency of considering the part and neglecting the whole. Therefore it is important to pay attention to advocating the importance of paying attention to the whole and of the part obeying the whole. As economic workers, we must spare no efforts to improve our understanding. Under the guidance of state planning, we must unify our actions, consciously protect the overall interests of the country, work hard to overcome departmentalism and egalitarianism and make an effort to guarantee that our national economy develops smoothly.

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## HOW TO LOOK UPON RESULTS OF THEORETICAL STUDY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 39-41

[Article by Liu Jiaen [0491 0857 1869]]

[Text] In the course of strengthening the study of Marxist theory, it is necessary to take a correct approach to the results of theoretical study.

Since the "leftist" thinking was cleared away, by summing up experiences and drawing lessons from the "cultural revolution," the people have deeply abhorred those empty dogmas which are completely irrelevant to life. They demand that theoretical study must really help solve some actual problems. This is certainly correct. But at the same time, some comrades tend to demand that theoretical study should, like the fulfillment of production tasks, yield some "tangible" fruits within a set time; others like to say, without regard to how theoretical study is conducted, that, as long as the work or production assignments are duly fulfilled, a good result of theoretical study will have been achieved. All this shows that a correct approach must be taken to results of theoretical study. Otherwise, it will be impossible to systematically study and grasp the theory of Marxism.

The purpose of our study of Marxist theory is to transform the objective world and our subjective world in a scientific way. Theory itself cannot bring about any effects. Only when theory is linked with practice and helps people to deepen their understanding and thus realize the change from consciousness to matter, can theory play its guiding role. This is a complicated process of change which can never be completed at one stroke or produce any instant results. In looking upon results of theoretical study, it is not proper to demand that, like the fulfillment of production norms, each period of study must result in a certain material fruit. In material production, products can be divided into intermediate products and finished products; similarly, theoretical study can directly or indirectly promote our actual work. Sometimes, through enhancing people's consciousness, deepening people's understanding on objective laws and thus promoting the fulfillment of work and production tasks, theoretical study can directly show the material fruits it brings about. Yet, more usually, the results of theoretical study are only manifested in potential enhancement of consciousness. Only through continuous accumulation in a given period and under given social conditions, can this



potential factor be turned into a tangible result. Thus, we should not look down on those results of study which take a spiritual form. The influence of the narrow mentality of small producers on this problem should be shaken off. It is not correct to judge the advantages of theoretical study by only looking at whether it has brought any immediate and tangible benefits.

The spiritual nutrition and the progress in their world outlook, which the people achieve through theoretical study, are very valuable. Why? It is first because, under given material conditions, man's conscious dynamic role under the guidance of Marxist theory is of decisive significance to the victory of socialist revolution and construction. This is precisely the place where the theory shows its power. If our party did not work out correct lines, principles and policies by combining the basic theory of Marxism with specific practice in our country, there would not have been victories in China's revolution and construction. If our cadres do not study stands, viewpoints and methods from Marxism and apply them to the practice in various specific work in the modernization drive, it is also impossible to successfully conduct the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. For plucking up for morale and strengthening our confidence when we are facing difficulties, Marxism, as the guiding principle, is of imperative importance. In this sense, socialism would not be successfully achieved without enlightening people's consciousness. Secondly, the progress of a man's consciousness and world outlook is of fundamental significance to his growing-up and to his entire work practice. Once a correct world outlook is set, rather than functioning temporarily, it will determine all words and deeds of a man as well as his objective of struggle, thus propelling him to create more material wealth. Finally, the influence of the spiritual realm and social practice of a man with the communist world outlook can never be measured by material wealth. For example, can the achievements of those revolutionaries, like Lei Feng and Jiao Yulu, in their lifework and the communist morality displayed by them be merely measured by the material fruits in the common sense? Obviously not. Whether in the hard years of war or in the period of socialist construction, numerous proletarian revolutionaries, by showing their ardent faith and dedicated spirit, have played a role that no material wealth can replace. Their heroic and moving deeds have always been encouraging us to forge ahead.

It is of immediate importance to realize the characteristics of results of theoretical study and to set store by the enhancement of people's consciousness. Directing it at the current situation where some people are seriously eroded by bourgeois ideology and the evil tendency of only paying attention to money is prevailing in some people, we should propagate the dynamic role of the communist spirit as justly and forcefully as we propagate the principles of distribution according to work and material interests. By creating public opinion from above to below, efforts should be made to encourage people to cultivate noble ideals, high morality and a revolutionary spirit through theoretical study. Of course, the pattern of development of mentality and consciousness differs from that of material development. The process of "changing consciousness to matter" cannot be understood in an oversimplified way. It is an imperceptible process to make progress in one's world outlook through theoretical study. In some aspects, results can be seen only through

a long-term effort. But, as Marx says, "once the theory grasps the masses, it will become material strength." If our cadres and masses are really armed with Marxist theory and encouraged by the great communist ideal and the noble revolutionary spirit of absolute selflessness, there will be a burst of immeasurable revolutionary strength which will speed up our socialist modernization drive.

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WHY MUST WE STRESS MAKING MAJOR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP COMMODITY PRODUCTION AND COMMODITY EXCHANGE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 40-41

[Article by Hu Jun [5170 6874]]

[Text] When talking about the necessity of practicing a planned economy on the basis of public ownership and at the same time giving play to the supplementary, regulatory role of Marxist mechanism, the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" points out: "Major efforts should be devoted to developing socialist commodity production and commodity exchange." Why must we stress making efforts to develop commodity production and commodity exchange? What does this mean?

Commodity production is a kind of production relation, under which, the exchange of producers' labor is effected through the exchange of their products. In this course, products take the form of commodities and labor is reflected in the value of commodities. The equivalent labor is manifested in the equivalent value of commodities. The income of both sides involved in exchange is directly determined by the result of exchange.

There are two different public ownership systems existing at China's socialist stage. The state-owned economy, which encompasses large-scale modern industry, holds a dominant position in the national economy. The collective economy also accounts for a fairly large proportion in the national economy. Particularly in agriculture, the collective ownership system is a major ownership form. The production relationship between the state-owned economy and the collective economy mainly takes the form of commodity exchange, for the peasants will not be willing to accept other forms. The state cannot directly transfer and distribute the means of production and products of the collective enterprises as it does those of the state-owned enterprises. Industry and agriculture are two major production sectors in the national economy. By energetically developing commodity production and commodity exchange between industry and agriculture, the state-owned economy and the collective economy can mutually provide the means of production and consumer goods needed by the other side. Under the condition that the collective economy exists, it is actually impossible to weaken or abolish commodity exchange between urban and rural areas. Weakening or abolishing commodity exchange would inevitably impair the development of social production and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

Energetically developing commodity production and commodity exchange within the collective economy includes two aspects: 1) Increasing the quantities of agricultural and sideline products to the maximum. When production in planting, animal husbandry and other diversified undertakings grows, the quantities of commodities will increase and thus commodity exchange will also develop. Agriculture will provide more agricultural and sideline products for cities and industry; and correspondingly, more industrial products will be sold to rural areas. 2) Gradually reducing autarkical natural economy in rural areas and trying to convert more products into commodities, thus raising the commodity rate of agricultural products. This is related to the development of social division of labor. Marx said: "Due to social division of labor, the market for commodities expands day by day; the division of productive labor converts each laborer's products into commodities and equivalents of other's and thus each is converted into a market for the other." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels" vol 25, p 718) Developing social division of labor, first of all, means developing the division of labor between industry and agriculture. In this process, agricultural products, which are originally produced as well as consumed by the peasants themselves, will be turned into commodities and sold to industry as raw materials; then, the peasants can purchase manufactured goods on the market, which are cheaper, better and richer in varieties than those they process for themselves. On the other hand, the further specialization of agriculture can not only expand commodity exchange between industry and agriculture, but also expand commodity exchange within the collective economy and between the peasants.

A vigorous development of commodity production and commodity exchange in rural areas may strengthen the economic ties between urban areas and rural areas and between industry and agriculture and stimulate collective economic units and peasants to make full use of local resources and develop diversified undertakings according to local conditions, as to speed up peasants' enrichment.

All the socialist stage in China, commodity exchange still extensively exists in the distribution of both consumer goods and the means of production within the economic field under the system of public ownership by the whole people. All products there take the form of commodities. Though commodity exchange of this kind is somewhat different from that conducted between economic units under different ownership systems, it still should not be taken lightly. By conducting commodity exchange at equal value and linking enterprises' business fruits with workers' material interests, enterprises can be spurred to improve their business management and to handle stringent business accounting of their consumption of labor, so as to achieve better economic results.

As for the state-owned economy, vigorously developing commodity production and commodity exchange mainly means trying every means to expand the scale of production, to increase quantities of various products, to enrichen product varieties and designs and to improve product quality, so as to provide the society with more and better means of production and consumer goods. At the same time, this also means that the state and enterprises must fully take into account and utilize the role of the law of value--a law governing commodity production and commodity exchange. Stalin once pointed out that the law of value can "teach our economic personnel to keep on improving production methods,

lowering production costs and practicing economic accounting, so as to enable enterprises to gain profits. This is a good school of practice. It can help our economic cadres become more mature in their work and rapidly become real leaders of socialist production at the present development stage." ("Questions in the Soviet Socialist Economy") In addition, in order to overcome the previous shortcomings reflected in plans over rigidly controlling everything, unitary circulation channels and the inconvenience thus caused to production and consumption, it is necessary to carry out reforms, under the precondition of taking the planned economy as primary, appropriately expanding the sphere and volume of free purchase and free marketing handled by enterprises, so that the economy can be enlivened.

When more channels for commodity circulation are introduced and the planned market coexists with free markets, it is possible that some negative phenomena, such as the activities of speculation, will arise. So, the departments concerned should strengthen their leadership and management.

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## WE MUST ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO FAMILY EDUCATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 42-45

[Article by Yu Xinyan [0151 1800 6056]]

[Text] When one examines the education of young people, one must realise that family education, school education and social education are all integral and vital facets of this education.

Countless facts and figures illustrate the necessity of attaching ample importance to family education.

During the 10 year period of social chaos and instability, the spirit and vitality of many young people suffered severe punishment and one of the main reasons for this was the fact that many families suffered attacks, persecution and even destruction during this period, thus many young people did not receive normal family education.

In addition, statistics also illustrate that a fairly high proportion of young people who commit criminal offences have family problems. Such problems might be unfortunate accidents having occurred in the family, or parents not having carried out their duties of educating their children for a variety of reasons, or problems connected with the low moral standards of the parents, while others are the result of unsuitable educational methods within the family. In contrast, a healthy attitude in many young people can often be traced back to positive influences from their family education.

China has a tradition of attaching importance to family education. The Chinese saying "an uneducated child is the fault of the father" is a clear reference to this problem of family education. Many sayings and stories which refer to family education have been passed down through Chinese history. In particular, the working masses have always been admired and seen as models for the way in which they educated their children with honesty, diligence and industriousness. People have always referred to bad children as "lacking family education". Naturally, the long period in Chinese history during which a feudal society existed unavoidably tainted family education with a feudalistic touch. Both in its content and in the method of teaching, influenced as it was by the low level of productive forces, the limitations of individual economy and the autocratic rule of the feudal family system.

In the new society, the establishment of production relations has brought about changes in family relations. The development of productive forces, the popularization of school and cultural and educational undertakings as well as the constantly developing socialist consciousness of the people have caused the people to criticize the feudal content of family education and indeed gradually abandon it, while at the same time the roles of school education and socialist education within the socialist society are becoming more and more important. These facts reflect the basic superiority of the socialist system.

However, for quite a considerable period of time in the past, we have tended to overlook the role of family education. In some people's eyes, the conditions of socialism imply that the responsibility for the education of children lies mainly with the school and society, while family education is considered dispensable or perhaps as supplementary only and having, therefore, a virtually non-existent role. This is not an overall view of the situation and at the very least is a far too simplistic view.

In our socialist society and under present day conditions, the family is no longer a complete single production unit (some individual workers' families are still single production units. The majority of peasants, wanting to manage their own private plots of land, within the larger group, approach collective contracts for production work as family units, but in this sense, the family may be regarded as a part of the production unit). Nevertheless, the family has certainly not died out and it is still very much a consumer unit, while the family members comprise a living unit and a unit for bringing up and educating children. For a relatively long period of time it will not be possible to hand over complete responsibility for education children, especially to society.

When a child is born, it normally stays with its parents, who quite naturally take on the role of teacher. The parents' every word and action become models for the learning child. If one looks at the country as a whole, one sees that no more than 20 percent of young children go to child care centres or kindergartens and, of these children, most are only in day attendance. Even when children begin primary and go on to secondary school, they still spend most of their time at home. Thus one cannot minimize the influence which the family has on the child's character, direction, feelings, school work, moral character and physical health, or on the child's future choice of job, marriage partner and creation of a new family.

Thus it has been said that the education of children in a socialist society is not the affair of one individual. This is not only because the country and society in general has been, and still is, implementing various schemes to improve and strengthen the work of educating children and young people; what is of greater importance is that the children of today are tomorrow's citizens of the socialist society, they will take on the role of masters of the society and will continue to build and protect our country. They will become the decisionmakers for the future of our country and our peoples in all aspects such as morality, knowledge and physical well-being. Thus, any couple who have a child immediately have a duty to society; that of bringing up and educating the child well, so that the child may grow to become a respectable member of the socialist society.



As far as communists are concerned, they should have an even greater sense of responsibility towards the education of their children. Our greatest ideal is to realize true communism and this cannot, of course, be achieved in one or two generations. Thus, in order to achieve this ideal, we must, naturally, entrust our wishes in the minds and bodies of our children and therefore train successive generations as successors to the cause of communism. With this viewpoint in mind, it is the firm duty of every Communist Party member to educate his or her child with communist thinking and morality.

Many comrades are already doing this and in particular, some older comrades, in response to strict demands from their children, have done well in patiently educating their youngsters. The stories of such people have been spread and dissipated everywhere, becoming examples for both high-powered cadres and the masses.

However, there are some comrades who do not sufficiently appreciate the importance of family education and who do not handle this question well. Nevertheless the vast majority of young people display good or relatively good characters and behaviour, while the proportion of youngsters who display bad behavior and even commit criminal offences is very small. Hence it is important not to ignore the question of family education. Here it would be very worthwhile to consider the question of cadres educating their children. Because cadres of every level are the backbone and motive force behind socialist modernization and construction, the good or bad behaviour of their children reflects the extent to which the cadres have fulfilled their duties of educating their children. Indeed, amongst the children of cadres, only a very small number display bad traits, but, because of the position in society which their parents occupy, the general masses quite naturally link the children's actions with their parents, thereby provoking criticism of and doubt about our cadres. Not only does this damage the prestige of the party, it also influences the mood of society and hence the determination of the people to strive for the four modernizations. Thus every party member and every cadre must consciously and strictly demand of himself or herself that he or she fulfill the role and duty of educating his or her child and thereby disperse misconceptions of all kinds which exist in regard to this problem.

A popular excuse amongst those who do not take enough care in the education of their children, is to say that they are too busy and therefore have no time to attend to this question. But, with the exception of a few special circumstances, this excuse is simply unacceptable. Good or bad family education is not dependent on the length of time that the father and mother spend directly talking with their child. To a far greater extent it depends on the educational effectiveness of the parents self-accomplishments. As the saying goes, "example is better than precept". Of course, the more time spent with a child the better, but even in the case of parents who have little time to spare, their child can absorb a proper education from watching the way the parents behave, the way they treat people and handle situations and from the attitude with which they confront every kind of situation and problem. Marx greatly stressed the important effect of self-accomplishment on children. He wrote, "we must be extremely gentle and cautious in our actions, for the sake of our children." Lenin's father spent much time travelling around the country talking and educating people in the villages and thus he had few opportunities

to spend time with his son. Despite this, however, Lenin learnt from his father's actions to be faithful to the quality of the work he was undertaking. Such questions as the state of parents thinking, their moral integrity, their attitude towards the work they do, their progressiveness in learning, whether they treat other people honestly and the extent of their politeness will all exert a subtle influence on the development of their child's character. It is not a question of time available, but of the keen sense of responsibility that the parents do or do not have, and whether they see their duty of educating their child as a responsibility not to be shirked. If one takes a serious look at the question from an ideological viewpoint, the problem of available time isn't an insurmountable obstacle. Indeed, under most circumstances, parents and children have a quite considerable amount of contact and to say that one doesn't have a chance to spend time educating one's child is, in fact, merely an excuse.

In today's world, our whole society is faced with many new situations and new problems, including that of family education. If we have no concise and clear knowledge about these new situations and new problems and no appropriate methodology for these new situations, then education will not achieve good results.

For example, the living conditions of nearly every family have improved over the last few years, especially when compared to before liberation. Such changes are good, especially in terms of their beneficial effects on the education of children. However, if the situation had changed for the worse, it would have created an ideology of suffering and struggle for the next generation and consequently would have had a bad influence on that generation too. Many of our cadres, particularly the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, although they live under relatively favourable conditions, still make fairly heavy demands on their children. Before his son Dong Lianghe [5516 5328 2976] went down to the countryside, Comrade Dong Biwu [5516 1801 2976] urged him, "you are a successor to the revolution and you must make strict demands on yourself. You must lead a life of simplicity and hardship and suffer together with the masses and under no circumstances may you join the higher ranks." Such revolutionaries of the old generation are a model for us all in terms of educating our children. However, some families are not like this, they are over-accommodating in regard to the demands of their child's material life, which in turn gives the child a feeling of superiority in life and ideology. Some parents even pursue pure enjoyment, commit all sorts of outrages and take a very laissezfaire attitude, virtually inciting their child to eventually take the road to crime. We should learn a lesson from bitter experiences such as these. Family education cannot help but become an important task for us all in order to help our offspring and descendants maintain the true spirit of the working people in this constantly improving life we lead.

Another example is the present policy of bearing only one child. As more and more people have only one child, the benefits of this policy for family education become more obvious. In a one child family, the child is able to receive more care and attention from its parents, both on a material and spiritual level. However, on the other hand, in one child families, the parents often tend to spoil the child, creating a number of problems, such as stubbornness and self-centredness. This is also damaging to the future growth

and development of the child. Thus the question is raised, how should one love a child? How should one be close but not weak, love the child but not pamper it, how should one combine the processes of "raising" and "educating" the child? None of these questions can afford to be ignored.

A further example is illustrated with the changes after the smashing of the gang of four, when eventual order was restored out of the chaos and a new upsurge in technological and cultural studies occurred. This phenomenon was extremely positive and was in keeping with the necessary task of socialist modernization and reconstruction. But, some parents wrongly saw a university education as the only direction for their child, with the result that they forced their child to bury himself or herself daily in academic work. Even 3 and 4 year-olds were forced to learn ancient poetry by heart and do arithmetic, with the result that the child's freedom to play, exercise, enjoy itself and involve itself in cultural and social events was severely restricted. Household chores, even the most trifling of the child's own duties, were all taken over and carried out by the parents. The result of such action was often to destroy the child's otherwise increasing vitality of life, damage the child's health and make the child grow up disliking physical labour and lacking the ability to take care of itself. Furthermore, in terms of cultural and technological development, the child's knowledge would often be so restricted, due to inflexible and rigid study, that it was very difficult for him or her to truly achieve anything. Most of the parents of such children tended to have extremely ambitious ideas for their child and did not realize the damage they were causing to their child's health and development.

Paying close attention to one's child's studies is of course necessary, but the parents who only consider the child's academic education and ignore or have a relaxed attitude towards the child's moral upbringing and physical health and development, are causing damage to the child's all-round development. If one does not pay careful attention to this question, the child may grow up with excellent academic standards but a very low moral standing and such an attitude may even produce degenerates of the likes of Feng Daxing [4659 1129 5281]. For this reason, it is necessary to begin moral education right from the earliest age. From the time when a child begins to understand things, one must begin with the education of the fundamental reason behind man's deeds and actions so that from the very beginning the child may understand the distinctions between yes and no, good and evil, honor and disgrace and beauty and ugliness. The parents must teach the child to love the homeland, the people, physical labour, technology and socialism. The child must learn idealism, morality and discipline and must learn to become accustomed to an honest and simple life. Thus if family education begins when the child is very small, the parents will find that they will get twice the results with half the effort.

Existence determines consciousness. People's ideology is, in the final analysis, determined by the social conditions of their material life. The most important of the conditions of material life are the means of production. Of course, other factors, such as political life, cultural life and religious life also influence one's ideology to an extent. If the conditions are not similar, then the resulting ideology will not be the same. Since you have experienced things that your child has not, your child cannot have the same

thoughts and feelings as you. The effect of the same fact or event on two people with dissimilar experiences, will often not be the same. Thus the parents must be skilled in guidance and assistance, and when faced with the greatest problems we cannot sit back and yield to them. We must stand by our principles, we must observe and take note of our children's characteristics and respect their rational and legitimate opinions. Of course, to do this requires some learning. While many parents have been successful in teaching their child to have aspirations, the child often ends up with very subjective aspirations. This is simply a problem of teaching methodology; in teaching a child, it is wrong to pamper and to give in easily, while treatment which is too severe or too weak is also wrong, as is an over simplistic or over complex approach. If one looks at the feudal family lines, believing that later generations do not improve their lot in comparison to past generations is not a "strict" way of thinking, but extremely restrictive and binding for the child. It is often not realised that scolding, cursing and hitting a child who has done something wrong, has very little beneficial effect. It was proved a long time ago that the saying "the rod is the best teacher" is not true at all. On the other hand, to shield a child from its mistakes and even side with him or her, is not only to shirk one's responsibility to society, it also damages the child's development. This is because this type of behaviour only encourages the child to continue along the road of mis-demeanors and the further along that road the child travels, the deeper into the abyss the child will go and eventually it will be too late to regret it.

The education of children is a question of fostering and raising human beings and is an extremely complex procedure. Therefore it is very important that one understand and recognise the characteristics of modern youth and thus, with patience, give them an effective education. Family education may be regarded as a scientific subject, requiring an understanding of psychology, the theory of education, logic and sociology. Naturally, one cannot demand of every adult that he or she have an intimate knowledge of all these sciences and furthermore, with the popularization of the one child family policy, it cannot be expected of every potential parent that they have practical first hand experience in educating children. Hence it is up to society to exert its powers and examine, study, sum up and propagate scientific facts about and experience in the education of children and thereby help people to gradually learn to adopt a communist ideology in handling the problems of educating children. Only in this way will it be possible to eradicate both feudal and capitalist influences within family education. And indeed we should be happy that the number of people who are realizing this fact is continuously on the increase. Several party organizations have included examination of family education by their own party members on their study agenda, while many schools are beginning to reestablish or strengthen parent-teacher relation. Many outstanding teachers are not simply keeping the families informed of the child's situation and progress in school but are more actively involved in explaining the child's physiology and psychology to the family and at the same time promoting and explaining suitable methodology and guidelines for educating the child and therefore illustrating to the families how to coordinate family education with the demands of scholastic education. This approach has been applauded by many families. The last 2 years have seen the publication of several periodicals and books which tackle the question of family education, while special columns have been started in several newspapers,

dealing with the same topic. In addition, several regions of China have seen research committees set up to examine family education and these committees run seminars on the topic as well as running model family competitions. Such activities are at the moment only in their primary stages and still require expansion and popularization. However, with such a promising beginning, we have every reason to hope and believe that family education will have increasing importance attached to it in all aspects of society and will become an important and integral part of the cultural development of the spirit of socialism.

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DO A GOOD JOB IN WRITING ABOUT NEW PEOPLE IN RURAL AREAS DURING THE PERIOD  
OF TRANSFORMATION

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[Text] Literature is a reflection of social life. Social life is like an incessantly rolling river, continuously flowing and endlessly moving and changing rather than being a pond of stagnant water. Life during periods of great social change is particularly so. Therefore, in reflecting social life, literature should follow the footprints of practice and throb with the pulse of the times.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a great historical change has taken place in this land of ours, a land of 9.6 million square kilometers. Extremely profound changes have taken in the fields ranging from the economy, politics, law and ethics to the interrelationships between man and man and even to the features and soul of the people. Old things are withering away and new things are growing around us and the course of elimination goes hand in hand with the course of creation. Many situations have not been seen before. Quite a few problems, even problems which have never been thought of, have been actually emerging before us and around us. This drastic change in social life cannot but arouse the attention and deep thinking of the writers and bring about all sorts of changes in both literary contents and forms. Seen from the works of literature and art published in recent years, one of the distinct changes is that the situation at one time of works on rural subjects being relatively few is being changed and the works portraying rural life and especially the works of depicting the great changes in mountainous areas during the period of transformation are increasing in number.

In these works on rural subjects which have emerged as the times require, the writers have not only succeeded in creating multifarious images of ordinary peasants, such as Li Shunda in "Li Shunda Builds a House," Feng Xiangba in "On a Village Ground," Pan Laowu in "On a River Without a Navigation Mark," Chen Huangsheng in "Chen Huangsheng Goes to Town," Xu Mao and the four girls in "Xu Mao and His Daughters" and Wang Laoda in "Wang Laoda, the Foolish Man." They have also, with their sharp eyes and trenchant touch, produced lively

descriptions and a highly artistic summary of the new prospects of rural life during the current transformation and portrayed, in thick and rich colors, the images of a batch of new people in rural areas during the period of transformation in thick and rich colors, such as Li Qiulan in "The Manager of Household Affairs," Lao Niu Jin in "An On-the-Spot Wedding Gathering," the little girl in "Selling Crabs," Luo Xiaoshan and Kang Xiuyun in "The Love of Mountains and Rivers," Xu Lingjun in "Soul and Flesh," Luo Kun in "Confidence," Han Baoshan in "Han Baoshan, the Handle of a Pickaxe," older brother Mingquan and Rong Er in "The Mountain Moon Fails to Read Our Innermost Feelings," Zhang Yuda in "The Submarine Obstacles" and Li Shuxia in "Capable Daughter-in-Law" and so on. These characters are distinctive and vivid in image, utterly different in disposition and fairly weighty in ideological content. These characters radiate with the splendor of the era and represent the positive force calling for making progress and a change amid the diverse and complicated contradictions during the period of transformation.

These new people in rural areas during the period of transformation are the men of keen perception and of action which the times require. Compared with the new people at the previous historical stages, the conflict of contradictions they are facing and the problems they want to solve bear a variety of different characteristics. Marx said that mankind can always only solve the tasks which history and the times have put forth. As far as new socialist people are concerned, they are naturally no exception. This is because they are not saints who are above the average and tower over man's world. Only when they are put in the real land and in the conflict of various contradictions which are real, concrete and strictly accord with facts, rather than being illusory, fantastic and abstract, can the new qualities and graceful bearing of these characters be manifested.

The conflict of contradictions in real life is ubiquitous and incessantly present and moreover, the contents and characteristics of this conflict of contradictions and the relative strength of the different sides of contradictions will change with the development of the times. This is the dialectics inherent in life itself. As a reflection of life, literature on the one hand must not evade contradictions and indulge in the "theory of there being no conflicts" and on the other hand must not proceed from an abstract concept to fabricate conflicts of contradictions or regard the conflicts of contradictions in the previous period as the actual conflicts of contradictions. It must proceed from real life to allow the characters to move about in a real and typical environment and advance while solving new contradictions and problems. On this question, in a letter to M. Harkness, Engels made fairly clear expositions. The "City Girls" by M. Harkness was written in the 1880's when the European working class had changed from the "class-in-itself" into the "class-for-itself" and had mounted the political arena as an independent political force. However, in this work, the people around the principal character appeared as masses with a negative outlook. It thus failed to correctly depict the strength of the new class in the then current conflict of social contradictions and the spirit of the times. For this reason, Engels criticized it as failing to really reproduce typical characters in a typical environment. Therefore, it can be seen that depicting the characteristics of the times and accurately displaying the conflict of contradictions are of vital importance to creating typical characters.



In regard to the new people in rural areas who have been successfully portrayed in literary works in recent years, their surrounding, the problems which they are facing and what they think and do are all different from Liang Shenbao in "A History of the Pioneers," Deng Xiumei in "A Great Change in Mountain Areas," Wu Shulan and Zhang Layue in "The Newly Acquainted Companions" and from Li Shuangshuang "The Profile of Li Shuangshuang." They are all stamped with the brand of the new historical period. This characteristic is manifested in the two following aspects in a striking way: One is that the conflict of contradictions they are facing are contradictions which are derived from the principal contradiction within the country at the present stage, that is, "the contradiction between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of our economy and culture which falls short of the needs of the people" and therefore, large numbers of contradictions are contradictions among the people. The other is that most of these conflicts of contradictions are centered on and develop around the implementation of the party's various rural policies including the various forms of production responsibility system which have been implemented since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is justifiable to say that these works are a resounding echo of the new changes which have taken place in the rural areas at the present stage.

The short story "Selling Crabs" describes the contradiction between the beautiful and the ugly and between the public and private interests which clash on the crab market in a small coastal town after the party's rural economic policies have been implemented. The crab-selling little girl who "is like a flower bud under the light of the early morning sun" engages in individual operation. In the previous literary works, this was very often regarded as the "spontaneous tendency towards capitalism" which was bound to be criticized and negated politically. But in this work, on this crab market, the deep sympathy she has for and the generous gifts she presents to the thin old man and the dramatic dispute between the little girl and the fat man manifest her crystal transparent heart and appropriate political consciousness. What is presented in "Confidence" is another new problem which the people during the period of transformation are confronted with, that is, how should we treat the comrades who opposed and attacked us and who have been proved by practice to have made mistakes in the twists and turns and who took the wrong path in history. After Luo Kun, party branch secretary of the Luocun brigade, was reinstated, his son Luo Hu and the sons and daughters of the cadres who were targets of criticism and attack during the movement, gathered together to pick a quarrel and as a retaliation, to make trouble and hurt the son of the old man Meng Tian, chairman of the brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants' association, who made others suffer during the movement. This incident makes the "relationship" between those who made others suffer and those who suffered "unprecedentedly tense" and "an uneasy feeling spread all over the streets and lanes of Luo Village." At this moment, proceeding from the overall situation of political stability and unity, Luo Kun properly and fairly handles this incident without bearing previous ill will, thus putting an end to the disorderly situation of Luo Village. He says: "Those who made mistakes will gradually draw a lesson. We, once the targets of criticism and attack during the movement should be unprejudiced rather than planting grievance in the hearts of our later generations." The works, such as "The Manager of Household Affairs" and "The Love of Mountains and Rivers," give a

vivid description of the change in the party's class policy and the conflict of contradictions centering around this change since the focus of the party's work was shifted on the four modernizations program and thus creates the images of new people in rural areas who radiate with splendor, such as Li Qiulan, Luo Xiaoshan and Kang Xiuyun. Under the grey hair of Li Qiulan--the principal character--there is still "a scar left by the water pipe" of her master Liu Jingui. But when Liu Jingui comes to visit as a patriotic overseas Chinese, taking the interests of the whole into account, she treats him with due respect and thus criticizes with her concrete deeds the mentality and actions of a small number of people in real life, who in disregard of moral integrity and national dignity, worship foreign things and fawn on foreign powers. She is simple, unadorned and open-minded, mature while shrewish and resourceful while honest. She reflects as ordinary working women's confidence and sense of pride of being the master of the country in the socialist motherland. The environment where the above-mentioned new people in rural areas during the period of transformation live and the conflict of contradictions they are facing all are new. It is precisely in this new social environment and in the conflict of new contradictions that they can fairly sharply perceive and put the demands of the times into effect, enthusiastically participate in solving the present questions concerning politics, the economy and ethics and struggle to advance the course of the four modernizations.

These new people in rural areas during the period of transformation have not only gone through a path full of difficulties and setbacks but are also facing the dawn of a new life. Therefore, we can find in them a projection of the struggle between the past and the future. Compared with the images of new people reflected in the previous literary works, their disposition seems to be more distinctively arranged, their experience seems to be more extraordinary and their feelings seems to be richer.

Hegel said: "Every man is an integral whole. He constitutes himself a world. Every man is a man in the full sense and full vitality rather than a fabled abstract thing with isolated features of disposition." ("Aesthetics" vol 1, p 303) Whether it is Xu Lingjun, Luo Xiaoshan, Li Qiulan, Brother Mingquan and Rong Er Lao Niujin, Luo Kun, or Han Baoshan, they all have their own unique ways of thinking and action, their own successes and failures, honors and disgrace, joys and sorrows, their own special career and course of development of disposition and also their own complicated world of feelings, and therefore they are all "men in the full sense and full of vitality." Xu Lingjin in "Soul and Flesh" is a boy who was forsaken by a rich man and is also a "young pioneer" who was brought up in the very warm breast of the motherland. When he becomes full-grown, he is subjugated to unredressed injustice in the tortuous gradual progress of history and for this reason he falls into dire straits and disappointment. However, in the beautiful and rich land of the motherland, amid the rough but warm masses of the people and in the ordinary but lofty work, "his depression, his sorrows and his grievance about the fate" are eventually dispelled. Moreover, he has the deepest and the most sincere love for his motherland, pastureland and wife and for the good and honest people who gave him warmth during difficult times. When he is confronted with two roads: one to go to the United States of America and the other to stay in the pastureland which is relatively poor for the time being, he determinedly

makes a correct decision of returning to the land which brought him up. This character embodies not only a profound pondering of history but also the persistent pursuit of the future. This profound pondering and persistent pursuit constitute a pronounced characteristic of the images of new people during the period of transformation--as the dovetailing point of two historical stages.

The contradiction and struggle between the new and the old in social life during the period of transformation will be more acute than those in ordinary life. This contradiction and struggle will also find expression in new socialist people. In their veins, there similarly runs "the original blood of the mother's body" and there is similarly the contradiction between the new and the old in them. What is different is only that the two aspects of contradiction are uneven, the new holding a leading position. Lao Niujin in "An On-the-Spot Wedding Gathering" was a militiaman during the war of resistance against Japan and an activist during the land reform. He is "of good class origin, capable of doing manual labor and honest and upright." But he is self-willed. "If he is supposed to go eastwards, he will insist on going westwards. Sometimes, he will be at odds at himself." When his elder daughter got married, "he actually gave her some dresses and a pair of broad-bottomed bamboo baskets as a dowry rather than asking for any betrothal gifts." Now it had come to his second daughter Er Lan's turn to get married. At first he promised not to accept any betrothal gifts but later realizing that other people did not accept any betrothal gifts in the open but accepted them in secret, he himself asked for 500 yuan of betrothal gifts. This almost made it impossible for On-the-Spot Wedding Gathering to be convened. When the county party secretary personally did persuasion work to convince him, he said plausibly and at length: "Over the past years, we have all along been cutting the capitalist tails, the private plots, sideline occupations and also animal husbandry," "If we marry off our daughters without accepting any betrothal gifts, what will we give to our sons when they get married?" When the county party secretary put forth the measures for helping commune members become prosperous as soon as possible in accordance with the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Lao Niujin actually allowed the boyfriend of his second daughter Er Lan to sign an IOU for 500 yuan of betrothal gifts on which he wrote a remark reading "repay it in the next generation," and then let them take part in the wedding ceremony, each wearing a large bright red flower. The leading aspect of the disposition of this typical character is to enthusiastically keep forging ahead and reflects the warm yearning for the implementation of the party's rural economic policies. His disposition is relatively distinctively arranged rather than being vaguely generalized. The author's description of those old things and shortcomings in his principal character makes Lao Niujin further become an integral whole full of vitality and more genuinely reflects the features and psychology of the new people in rural areas during the period of transformation rather than damaging his image. The appearance of the images of new people in rural areas which are full of blood and flesh and are relatively successfully reflected is, fundamentally speaking, determined by the changes in the rural life, in the interrelationships between man and man and in the features and psychology of the people. At the same time, it is also the inevitable result of thoroughly criticizing the idealistic patterns of literary or artistic creation, such absurdities as the "three stresses" and the "three contrasts" which were trumpeted by the "gang of four."

These new people in rural areas during the period of transformation are both the pioneers who stand in the forefront of social changes and propel the four modernizations program and the ordinary laborers who work in a down-to-earth manner. Their high level of socialist consciousness and the fine moral values are mainly manifested in the implementation of a series of the party's rural economic policies, in the ordinary and arduous work of the four modernizations program and in the correct handling of all sorts of contradictions among the people. Moreover, with the development of the times and the change in life, and particularly with the recent introduction of multifarious forms of production responsibility system, the development of diversified undertakings, the promotion of market prosperity and the advancement of rural cultural undertakings, the contacts between the countryside and cities have increased, their relationships have become closer and social life has thus become integral in the fuller sense. Therefore, the scope of new people in rural areas during the period of transformation must include not only such ordinary rural cadres as Luo Kun, such ordinary peasants as Lau Niujin, Han Baoshan and Li Qiulan but also such intellectuals as Xu Lingjun, such individual operators as the little girl who sells crabs and people from all walks of life, such as the workers of the enterprises run by the communes and their subdivisions, doctors and teachers. Some of the destinies and the psychology of these new people in rural areas and their new features of having both revolutionary ideals and a scientific attitude, both lofty moral values and the ability to create and both a broad field of vision and a spirit of seeking truth from facts are already familiar to us; some are insufficiently familiar to us or relatively strange to us; some have been reflected in literary works and some have not, and some are even fields where no one has set foot, so to speak. In other words, in the rapids of the time, there are many melodies which have not been seized and in the open country of life, there are still many ore beds which have not been discovered.

The rural life during the period of transformation and the profound changes in the features and psychology of the peasants have obviously put the question of going deeper into and familiarizing oneself with rural life before us. Going deep among the masses plunging into and familiarizing oneself with the thick of life is an important link and necessary prerequisite for doing a good in writing about new people in rural areas during the period of transformation. This is because the strength of realism comes from extensively surveying and studying and intensively absorbing matters concerning life and from stressing accumulation, not expansion. A deep-rooted tree bears luxuriant leaves. When it deviates from the soil of life, literary and artistic creation will lose its vitality. If he did not plunge into the thick of rural life for long years, and make contacts with the masses, Zhou Libo would not have been able to intimately know the fate of the poor peasants and farm laborers of Yuanmao village; it would have been impossible for Li Zhun to write the interesting family episode in which Li Shuangshuang and Xi Wang got angry for the sake of love; and Wang Wenshi would have been unable to reflect such magnificent thoughts and feelings of newly acquainted companions. At present, those writers who have succeeded in portraying new people in rural areas are relatively familiar with the life they reflect, with the voices and smiles of the peasants and understand their psychology during the period of transformation. This is one of the very important reasons why they have gained successes in their career of creation.

Since the period of Yunan, our writers have had a good tradition of going deep into the thick of rural life. Particularly since the mid-1950's, a "colony of writers" who give prominence to reflecting rural life gradually formed. For example, the "Potato" School in Shanxi Province, which was represented by Zhao Shuili and the "Hehuadian" School in Hebei Province and Beijing which is represented by Sun Li. In addition, there were also many famous writers, such as Liu Qing and Li Zhun. Following Zhou Libo, in recent years, there have emerged in Hunan Province a batch of young and middle-aged successful writers with great vitality who give priority to writing works of "literature of the native soil." These writers who give priority to reflecting rural life have for long years gone deep into the countryside, had close ties with the masses, created a lot of good literary and artistic works loved by the masses of the people, depicted the tableau of life bright with many colors and created new socialist people and multifarious images of peasants. In the current great period of transformation, we must inherit and carry forward this good tradition of going deep into the thick of rural life.

At present, the times, the people and the social life which is undergoing a drastic change are calling us. We must enthusiastically plunge into the thick of life, conscientiously absorb the source materials, subjects, plots, language, poetic flavor and painting qualities from the life of the people, nurture ourselves in the spirit of working hard, a spirit of the people being the makers of history, further raise the quality of the literary and artistic works reflecting rural life and strive to do a good job in writing about new people in rural areas during the period of transformation while creating multifarious characters.

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## BE SURE NOT TO CHOOSE A VILLAIN FOR A JOB

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[Article by Zong Rong [1350 2837]]

[Text] In some economic criminal cases, quite a few of the criminals have criminal records or were sentenced before. For example, the notorious swindler Chen Menghu had been sent to receive reeducation through labor; and the "automobile magnate" Chen Xihai had been punished by law twice before. According to the statistics in a province, 85 percent of the economic criminals in 12 cities and prefectures had previous criminal records. However, almost all of these people had enjoyed a different degree of trust and had been put in some important positions before their recent cases were revealed. This is a problem which we should take seriously.

It is certain that we have made some mistakes in handling personnel matters. Previously, owing to the influence of "leftist" guidelines, we did not make a concrete analysis of people's family backgrounds, social relations or personal history and did not take their present performance into account, but just kept picking on them when problems were found. This practice has badly frustrated the enthusiasm of some of the comrades. This profound lesson is worth bearing in mind. But it is inadvisable to make use of and put trust in any person without taking their political attitude and personal history after the "leftist" mistakes were corrected into consideration. It should be seen that class struggle still exists in a certain sphere and that the reactionary forces hostile to socialism are still living in the society. We can never make blind use of personnel.

"Anyhow, we should give them opportunities." Of course, that's true. It is incorrect to keep picking on these people because of their previous criminal cases and refuse to give them opportunities to mend their ways. But, correcting the previous errors and turning over a new leaf needs a painstaking process of mending their ways in a thorough manner by those people concerned. As to the people in leading positions, this calls for their painstaking work in setting strict demands and conducting intensified education. Some people are well versed in currying favor with people in authority and thus securing gains, but they do not really show repentance for their previous crimes. To these people, if we give up ideological and



political work and merely allow them to work freely or even trust them with important work, this will not force them to abandon evil and do good but only help them slip back into their old ways. This is not "giving them opportunities to mend their ways," but in fact a practice providing them with an opportunity to "go on a familiar road."

Some people say these people are all "able persons." It is true that our modernization construction needs a large number of able persons with real ability and learning. Efforts should be made to seek more gifted people and create necessary conditions for giving full play to their abilities. Those stupid things, like inhibiting talented people by cooking up various pretexts, can by no means occur any more. But this does not include those "able persons" who harbor hatred for socialism and always intend to sabotage it. Who is able to say that those criminals who have committed big crimes are all big fools without any abilities? But is it not true that the bigger abilities they have, the worse scourge they will bring to our party and our nation? Wei Zheng of the Tang dynasty said: "Misusing an evil person who carries out perverse acts by issuing false orders will bring on enormous troubles." This is worth taking as reference.

"Ability" should also be subject to analysis, and we should see what kind of ability it is. Those "automobile magnates" did not know well the normal operation of the socialist automobile industry. What they were able to do was nothing but the tricks, like practicing graft and speculation, which used to be played by the previous lawbreaking capitalists. This ability can only harm our socialist cause. Isn't it a fact that the money and material they have the "ability" to make available for their units come at the expense of the socialist cause as a whole, and in this course, with their own pockets first being lined by means of graft? How can they be regarded as "able persons" for our socialist nation? They are nothing but a handful of moths and borers.

It is strange that some of our comrades have failed to see the real features of these notorious figures who acted not only surreptitiously but more often, overtly. There are, perhaps, at least two reasons: 1) These people are so good at flattering people and currying favor with them, that people cannot help but being taken in by them as time passes. 2) More importantly, our comrades have lost the correct guideline. When you have paid all attention to money and put the socialist orientation out of your mind, how can you perceive the problems of these resourceful "wealth gods," to whom you never feel you have given excessive support and commendation? Thus, it can be seen that the key in properly handling personnel matters lies in keeping a firm and correct guiding principle in the mind of leading comrades.

Personnel matters must be handled very cautiously, for these matters directly concern the success or failure of our cause. The struggle of cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic field has given us a political lesson on these matters. In the course of this struggle, not only have we seen our own defects, we will also bear this familiar sentence with new meaning more deeply in our mind: Take politics into consideration when making use of personnel!